

# Current HISTORY

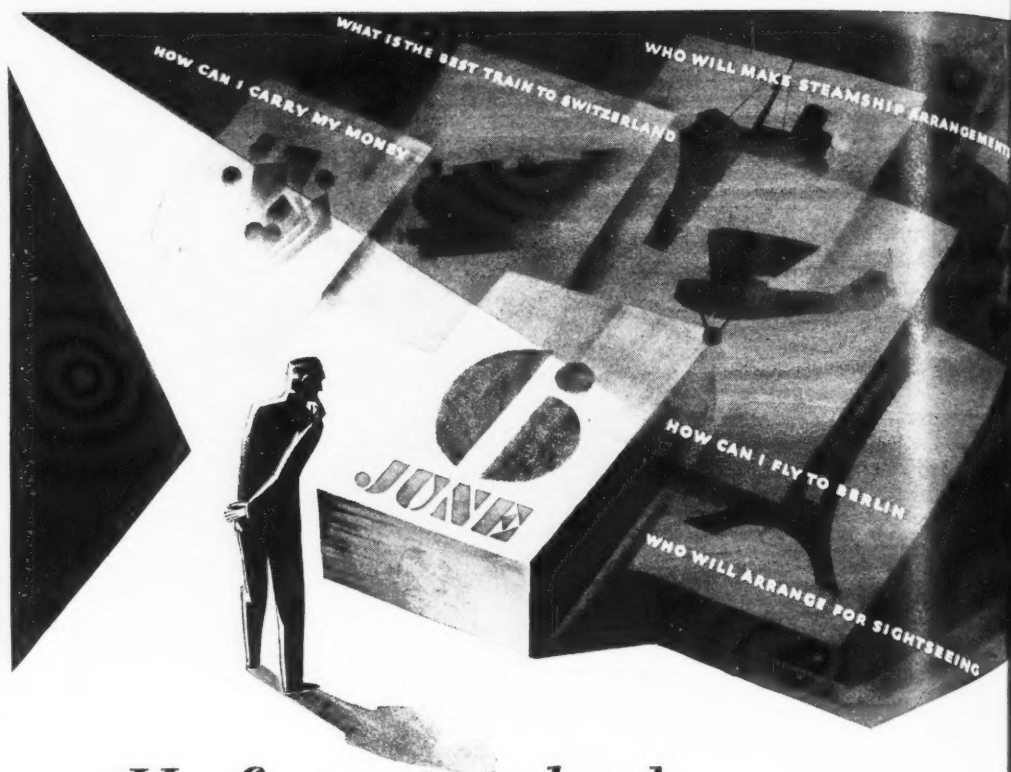


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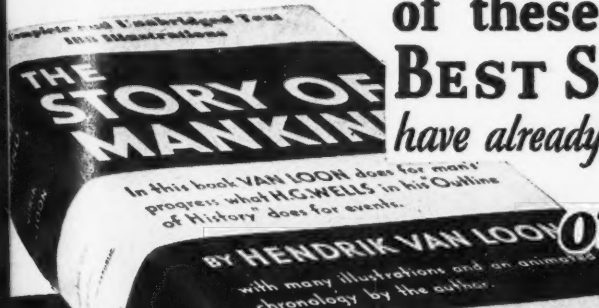
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# BOOKS OF THE MONTH

## Literature and Social History

**T**AINE and his innumerable disciples have successfully maintained that the literature of a people is expression of the social and political environment in which it is written. The acceptance of the philosophy of literature as a record of social history and social evolution has been so general that no present-day author can write without consciously paying respect to it. So when a reader opens any of the countless number of books which come from our printing presses—not least the many volumes of fiction—he may be almost certain to find running through them some part of a social record.

But a recent American novel, Joseph Hergesheimer's *The Limestone Tree* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931, \$2.50), presents what might seem to be an exception to the Taine philosophy. For Mr. Hergesheimer has written a historical novel repeating the plan of his earlier work, *The Three Black Pennys* (1917)—a plan made more famous in John Galsworthy's *The Forsyte Saga* (1922)—namely, the tracing of the fortunes of a family through several generations. In *The Limestone Tree* the Abel-Sash family is followed from the migration of the first James Abel into Kentucky, when the land of the bluegrass was still the "dark and bloody ground," until the 1890s. During the century and more the Abel clan played a large rôle in the making of Kentucky history. The first members of the family cleared away the forests and helped to drive out the Indians; later generations built up wealth and prestige for themselves while assisting in the construction of a Kentucky civilization. When the Civil War came along, dividing the Abels and killing off many of them, Kentucky society as well as this particular part of it seemed full-blown. During the succeeding years the survivors, growing ever more conscious of family and clan, carried on, mellowing in the tradition of their

own ancestors and of Kentucky. In the end "Kentucky assumed a solid value; it was a land, a State, built out of certain durable and reassuring qualities—unassailable courage and an utter simplicity. Its virtues, as well as its faults, were the result of early bitter hardships and danger."

On first thought *The Limestone Tree* is only one more, although a particularly good, historical novel. It seems only a review of Kentucky's history, a passing work of only average literary quality. Yet closer examination makes this novel fit more definitely into the America of the 1930s. It could not have been

written for an earlier generation which in its rather blatant patriotism, saw little except the heroic side of American history. The characters in *The Limestone Tree* are not conventional heroes; instead they are human, with human foibles and passions. When the men rally to the colors in 1861, Mr. Hergesheimer makes no attempt to decide which was the right color, the Blue or the Gray. In other words, Americans of 1931 are able to read such a novel with its certain, sure but calm and subdued love of country; possibly this is one more indication that the old national inferiority complex has disappeared. Certainly there

is a wide gulf between *The Limestone Tree* and that great historical novel of Kentucky, Winston Churchill's *The Crossing* (1904).

Only a few years ago much of American literature was striving for a stark realism and exaggerated sophistication; historical novels perforce had but a small place. Just how much of a hold realism ever had in the hearts of the essentially romantic reading public of America would be hard to determine; nevertheless, such works were obviously the style. *The Limestone Tree* is only one more indication of the passing of that phase of

### REVIEWS IN THIS ISSUE

THE REAL STANLEY BALDWIN	By Preston W. Slosson
THE SOUTH AS A SELF-CONSCIOUS MINORITY	By U. B. Phillips
ENGLAND AND AMERICA	By William MacDonald
THE DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY	By M. K. Munroe
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THOMAS MASARYK	By Lloyd Eshleman

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Continued from Page IV

American literature and the rise of another.

But the very romanticism which is ever present in a historical novel is significant. Further, *The Limestone Tree* emphasizes the desirability of the settled, rural life, of roots in the soil, to an extent that would gladden the heart of a Thomas Jefferson. In an age that, superficially at least, is without roots and without ancestors, that is moving steadily cityward, this idealizing of the more simple life of the past is perhaps to be expected. In the hurly-burly of twentieth-century civilization Hergesheimer has pictured an ordered and settled life, the sort of existence that is maintained in sections of the East, South and the Middle West. Even when the romantic veil of the novelist is torn way, this sort of life is not unattractive. Unable to find satisfaction and emotional stability in the ways and manners of its own day, the present generation looks backward. Possibly at bottom that is the real significance of *The Limestone Tree*.

Ordinarily, if one is to discuss Taine's literary point of view, more apparent examples than this novel of Hergesheimer's are cited. The novels of Dickens, with their penetrating although possibly exaggerated characterizations of Victorian England, are good grist for the mill. So with the novels of Balzac or the plays of Ibsen. In modern American literature the writings of Sinclair Lewis and Willa Cather will be guides for the future historian of twentieth-century America. All these are social studies. But other novels fit into the same category, interpreting the spirit of a period without discussing the period itself. Zola's *La Débâcle*, for example, was such a novel in the France of the last century. Without forcing a comparison of Hergesheimer's novel with the Zola interpretation, it may well be maintained that *The Limestone Tree* not less than *La Débâcle* is a reflection of the spirit of its period. E. FRANCIS BROWN.

## The Real Stanley Baldwin

By PRESTON W. SLOSSON  
University of Michigan

THE REAL STANLEY BALDWIN. By Wickham Steed. London: Nisbet & Co. 1930. 7s.6d.

**T**WICE Prime Minister, leader of the Conservative party at a time when the collapse of liberalism left the Conservatives the only alternative to Labor Party Socialism, Stanley Baldwin certainly belongs within the circle of the dozen most important and powerful individuals in the world today. And yet there are many lower lights which flash more brightly. Many even of his own followers feel that Baldwin is a rather colorless and negative leader; not exactly weak, for he is

conceded to have a strong, obstinate will of his own, but the opposite of aggressive. Although standing in the very heart of the political struggle, he seems at times oddly detached from it as if he were a rather bored father condescending to take part in a children's game. Because even to his own countrymen this strange unpolitical politician is known as the "Baldwin enigma," Wickham Steed has chosen to give us psychography rather than biography—the analysis of a personality rather than the narrative of a career.

As one turns over the pages an inebriated fancy links the Conservative ex-Prime Minister of Great Britain with a conservative ex-President of the United States. Of which one do the following statements seem to hold true? "In the depths of the simple soul of 'plain man Baldwin' may there not be a hidden reserve of wisdom, or craft, of guile, that makes it so hard for others to get past him." "There is room for doubt whether Mr. Baldwin is ever quite free from a sense of inferiority in dealing with men whose minds are reputedly superior to his own." "A second-class brain with a first-class character." "I am not sure that his mind moves slowly. His grit for prompt and even caustic repartee is not the talent of a slow mind. Yet there is a sense in which his mind \* \* \* moves with laggard step toward decision. \* \* \* Maybe Mr. Baldwin does not enjoy good talk, or the mobility of thought which it involves. Some of his most trusted intimates, in the Cabinet and outside, have been obviously 'second-class brains.'" Add to this other characteristics, honesty, Puritan conscience, shyness, conservatism, an exaggerated reputation for taciturnity ("For rhetoric he professes contempt, though he is by no means innocent of it"), a quite inexplicable popularity, and a tendency when in doubt to do nothing but let time solve the problem; the reader wonders whether he is studying a statesman of Old England or New.

But if Baldwin be a sort of British Coolidge his lot has been cast in a very different environment. Imagine nearly half the seats in Congress filled with avowed Socialists (of however mild and polite a type), labor almost completely organized into trades unions and all those unions joining in a general strike, foreign and colonial relations entangled in a thousand unavoidable "involvements," the protective tariff not a status quo to be defended but a new venture to be urged. It is small wonder that Stanley Baldwin, in spite of the good-will which the average Briton feels for him personally, has encountered political reverses which never fell to the lot of his American counterpart. Once he was tripped up by the tariff, sacrificing a secure majority in Parliament to carry the doctrine of a protec-

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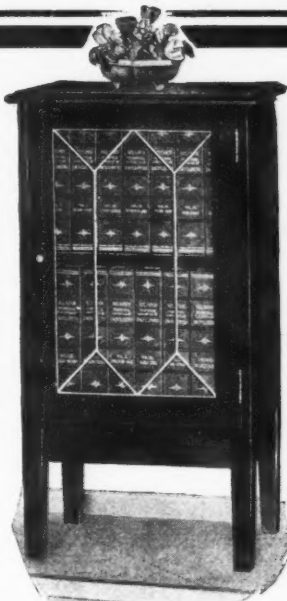
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*Continued from Page VI*

tive tariff to an unprepared electorate. Yet this martyr to protection is now being heavily assailed from the other side, particularly by Lord Rothermere and Lord Beaverbrook, the press magnates, for being too cautious in coming out for imperial preference to the dominions and duties on foreign foodstuffs. Public distrust at Labor's overfriendliness to Soviet Russia brought the Conservatives back again under Baldwin's leadership, for a longer lease of power. But Baldwin's second Ministry was not untroubled. Unemployment, the depression in the coal industry, the general strike, the failure to reach a basis of naval disarmament with the United States, and the general feeling that the Prime Minister was waiting on events instead of dominating them gradually wore away the Conservative majority and brought Labor back to the government benches. Mr. Steed looks forward to a possible third Baldwin Ministry in the not distant future, but seems to believe that it will not be a success unless the Conservative leader imposes a stricter discipline on his party and attacks national problems in a more resolute spirit.

## The South as a Self-Conscious Minority

By ULRICH B. PHILLIPS

*Professor of American History, Yale University*

*THE SOUTH AS A CONSCIOUS MINORITY, 1789-1861: A Study in Political Thought. By Jesse T. Carpenter. New York: The New York University Press, 1930. Pp. ix, 315. \$4.50.*

**A**MONG the recent books of note upon the South Professor Carpenter's takes a distinctive place. A worthy recipient of the Baruch prize from the United Daughters of the Confederacy, it is intended not for those who dislike full quotations and citations but for such as may seek supported argument. It is a monograph to enlarge the knowledge of students, a treatise on a single theme, leaving the reader to supply most of the setting and to carry the implications whither he may.

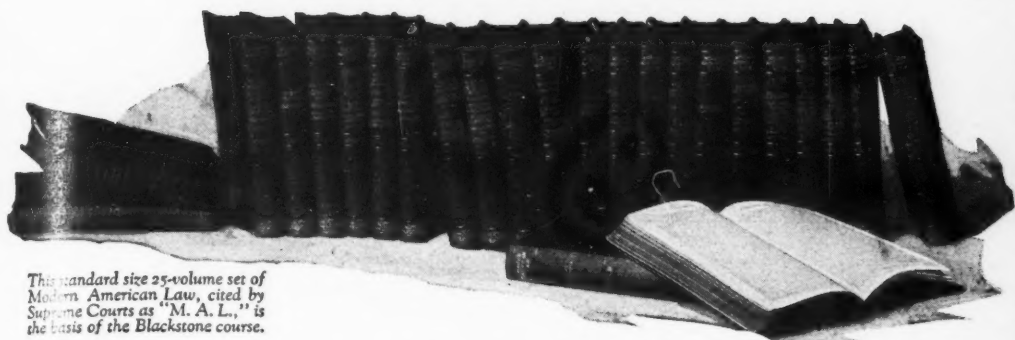
Minority rights as against unlimited majority control furnish issues in many lands; the peaceful and prosperous adjustment and readjustment of component parts to the central authority vex the rulers of all empires; government by the consent of the governed is a counsel of perfection. When the framers of the Federal Constitution sought a permanent prevention of crises in multiple checks and balances they builded as wisely as any craftsmen yet have done. By aid of their apparatus and by virtue of reasoned compromise their children avoided intestine strife in 1820, 1833 and 1850. In the middle instance the tariff, in the

other two Negro slavery, found the South or some part of it arrayed against the North. Whether these avoidances were to prove solutions or mere postponements 1861 was to say.

During the War of 1812 New England, finding herself injured in commerce and outvoted in Congress, acquired a sharp sectional consciousness, contemplated secession and borrowed suitable doctrines from every source available. This was a passing phase, for peace with Great Britain ended the cleavage of the East from the rest of the North. The case of the South was more lasting because cotton was an export industry under a government constantly controlled by home market interests; because Negroes by the million constituted a local and insoluble problem, and because the institution of slavery, there considered indispensable for the control of the Negroes, was being encircled by unfriendly communities. From this situation arose a strong sense of special circumstance and minority status, an anxious effort to scrutinize the future, and a lively search for guarantees whether by combing the records of the constitutional fathers or by devising new doctrines and policies. There were lulls now and then; but a few guardians of "Southern rights" were alert in even the quietest periods, and as one thing led to another the body of doctrine grew.

A majority, having the needful votes without argument, can afford to be taciturn except when persuading itself upon some detail; but a minority is under pressure to be vocal whether in hope of detaching some from their opposing alignment or to nerve itself to a desperate stroke of escape. Certainly the spokesmen of the minority South were assiduous with tongue and pen. Professor Carpenter has raked the books, the pamphlets and the *Congressional Globe*, nearly every source, indeed, short of newspapers and manuscripts. What is more, utilizing the four successive but overlapping "principles" of local self-government (State sovereignty), the concurrent voice (assured equilibrium), constitutional guarantees, and Southern independence, he has woven his material into a patterned fabric. To complete the work he shows the degree to which the doctrines previously devoted to the furtherance of these objectives were incorporated into the Confederate Constitution. Thus we have in their proper places the pertinent expressions not only of such leading lights as Jefferson, Madison, Calhoun, Yancey, Toombs, Davis and Stephens but of Taylor, Turnbull, Rhett, Hammond, Longstreet, Iverson, Yulee, Wigfall and a number of others well-nigh forgotten but in their day vigorously and variously contributory to the doctrines and the purpose of Southern self-determination.

The author in seeking what fits his occasion leaves aside a number of things which a historian, even when writing a monograph, would



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hardly feel free to neglect. There is no mention of the bludgeoning of Sumner by Brooks, which was a feature in the Southern rights argument; there is little notice of Southern unionism, or of complexity within the South, or of the reciprocal irritation and stimulation of Northern and Southern sectional champions, or of the event in 1865 which supplies a commentary upon the practical wisdom of the campaign *à outrance* for "Southern security." On the other hand, there is an avoidance of the term "radical" in connection with that campaign, and an insistence instead that its purpose and in the main its conduct were essentially conservative. Here the author has thought things through far better than many historians. Furthermore, he credits the Southern champions with sincerity, clarity, dignity (ignoring Brooks), frankness and force. His implication, indeed, is that, Hamilton, Marshall, Seward and Lincoln to the contrary notwithstanding, the contention of the minority South was in truer keeping with the spirit of the Constitution than was that of the majority North. This reminds us that Lord Acton, devotee of human freedom, "broke his heart" over the surrender of Lee as an irreparable blow to the cause of liberty. But what of the perpetuation of Negro slavery as a paramount item in the Southern rights purpose? It complicates the question; but Acton was and Carpenter is more concerned with the checks and balances which might have been but were not and are not effective. The book is an excellent interpretation as far as it goes, and a useful repository of perhaps a thousand quotations.

## England and the American Revolution

By WILLIAM MACDONALD

ENGLAND IN THE AGE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By L. B. Namier. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930. Pp. 518. \$8.50.

THE fact that the causes of the American Revolution can now be stated with fairness as well as with reasonable precision is due very largely to the increasing attention which historians have paid to political and social conditions in England during the final struggle with the Colonies. Mr. Namier, who made an important contribution to an understanding of the political situation in his book entitled *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*, has now followed that work with an intensive study of the Parliamentary situation during the first years of Newcastle's Administration. The two volumes form part of a larger work intended to deal comprehensively with English history from 1760 to 1783.

After a brief review of what he calls the

"social foundations" of the period as represented by the unreformed House of Commons, the class structure, the connection between landholding and citizenship, the relations between government and trade, and the elements of the imperial problem, Mr. Namier turns to an examination of the personal characteristics of George III, Newcastle and others. When a biography of Newcastle is written (there is none as yet) it "will have to be in terms of mental pathology." Newcastle's nature and mind "were warped, twisted and stunted, and his life must have been agony, though perhaps he himself did not clearly realize how much he suffered. He was haunted by fears. \* \* \*

With an abundant substratum of intelligence and common sense, he looked a fool, and with an inexhaustible fund of warm human kindness and sincere good-will, he acquired a reputation for dishonesty." George III, instead of having been brought up in "autocratic notions" or taught doctrines of royal prerogative, was, in fact, "nurtured on constitutional platitudes" and never aimed at being "more than what the self-contradictory constitutional theory and practice of the time made him—the hereditary, irresponsible head of the executive in a Parliamentary State." Bute, whose political game with Newcastle would provide "material for an exquisite comedy," if historical comedy could ever be written, was at his best when theatrical, for "sense of reality he had none."

All this is preliminary to a minute analysis of the membership of the Parliament of 1761, and an almost excessively detailed account of the political events of its first two years. Only about one-fourth of the Commons was new in service. Of the 558 members returned, 119 were younger sons of English or Scottish peers or representatives of the Irish peerage, while 182, or about one-third, were army or navy officers, civil servants, diplomats, lawyers or merchants, all but two of the latter coming from London. "About 300 seem to have held no place, office, contract or pension from the government," although many of them owed their seats to government support or were relatives of officeholders. Mr. Namier's scrutiny of the list enables him to identify roughly 59 Ministers and civil servants, 30 holders of civilian sinecures, 50 court officials and 37 government contractors, besides 57 officers of the army or navy, and 10 holders of secret service pensions.

Obviously, such a body lent itself easily to the control which the King, in the absence of party organization, would naturally be expected to exercise. How much did the Commons know about America? No Americans, Mr. Namier finds, were returned in the election of 1761 although five later sat in the House before the peace of 1783. The West Indian members, on the other hand, were in



close touch with American affairs, and their position was the more important because of the greater interest which England felt in the West Indies than in the mainland Colonies. The knowledge of English merchants who regularly traded with America was not negligible; a number of army and navy members had served in America during the Seven Years' War, and there were other members who acted as colonial agents.

Mr. Merriam's book, although well written, is so heavily loaded with quotations and weighted with footnotes as to make its use somewhat difficult to a reader who is not a specialist. Its value, however, is very great, and no one can read it without experiencing a new sense of the political conditions under which the great American debate was carried on and of the strength of the tradition and sentiment which the American appeal had to overcome.

## The Dictionary of American Biography

By M. K. MUNROE

*THE DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY*. Vol. VI. Echols-Fraser. Under the Auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies. Edited by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931.

THE sudden death of Dr. Allen Johnson, editor with Dr. Dumas Malone of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, occurred on Jan. 19. This tragic accident, coming as it did just a few weeks before the appearance of Volume VI of the dictionary, gives that volume added significance as a memorial to Dr. Johnson's many fine qualities as a scholar and writer. After sixteen years as Professor of American History at Yale University he resigned that position in 1926 to undertake the editing of the dictionary, for which he was unanimously chosen by the committee of management. His qualifications had already been proved by his work as editor of the *Chronicles of America* series. Dr. Dumas Malone, who since 1929 had been Dr. Johnson's associate in the editorial work, was on Feb. 2 appointed sole editor-in-chief of the dictionary.

With each succeeding volume of this undertaking the reviewer is increasingly tempted to make of the review a list of the names of the contributors. They are names, in great part, which carry assurance because of the achievement they represent. This character of the contributors is particularly marked in the sketches of the well-known figures. A new life of Benjamin Franklin is no longer interesting simply for Franklin's sake; it be-

Continued on Page XII



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*Continued from Page XI*

comes interesting only if the writer has a new slant to give, and it is amazing how, into these brief sketches packed with facts, the authors are able to put vivacity and freshness.

Into a whirlpool of dissension Dr. Johnson himself has flung, in this volume, another view of Mary Baker Eddy. He has not minced matters, nor drawn the curtain on questionable episodes. He says early in the sketch: "Her early letters reveal a characteristic that persisted throughout life—a disposition to see things through the prism of her emotions and to embroider the humdrum facts of everyday life. \* \* \* She was essentially an ignorant woman." His biography of Mrs. Eddy tells itself chronologically, with occasional insertion of quotations shrewdly chosen to point the facts. Dr. Johnson has given due credit to Mrs. Eddy's "glowing assurance that mind working in harmony with the Eternal could triumph over bodily infirmities." But the facts which Dr. Johnson had, and for each of which he cites documentary proof, need no interpretation. There is his description of Mrs. Eddy as an old lady: "Whatever may have been her motives for retiring to Concord [in 1889], it proved to be one of the most sagacious moves in her career. In these long years of absence from the Mother Church—she visited Boston only four times in nineteen years—she escaped the daily contacts with her followers which often brought a degree of disillusionment to them. In retirement she acquired a reputation for saintliness which added immeasurably to her influence. To those who saw her daily, however, she was no saint, but a frail elderly woman pursued by delusions of persecution, forever talking about malicious animal magnetism and beset by strange superstitions. She was indeed a curiously complex personality, capable of moments of religious exaltation, but capable also of conduct that was unlovely and ruthless, when her will-to-power was crossed. Though she could be gentle and gracious, she cannot fairly be described as unselfish or generous. \* \* \* On Sunday, Jan. 28, 1908, preceded by a pilot locomotive for safety's sake and accompanied by a physician, she took train for Chestnut Hill, where a spacious mansion had been prepared for her. Her days were now numbered, and she knew it. For some years she had suffered intensely from a fatal disease, probably gallstones, and she had sought relief from several Concord physicians at various times. As the disease progressed only hypodermic injections of morphine would relieve her agony. \* \* \* Three notable achievements survived Mother Eddy: a religious organization with nearly one hundred thousand members, a book of which about four hundred thousand copies had been

sold, and an estate appraised at more than two and a half million dollars."

Another well-known figure in this volume, whose life will never cause any such dispute but whose achievement was on the grand scale, was Charles W. Eliot. The sketch of him by Ralph Barton Perry may well compare with the recent portrait by Henry James. As with all the other contributors, Mr. Perry has not only recounted the events of the man's life; he has also described the philosophy that was part of his personality. In timely fashion, he says, for instance: "Throughout his entire administration Eliot took a keen interest in athletic policy. Although himself an oarsman and a friend of sport, he was a formidable and tireless critic of football. He believed not only that its intercollegiate competitions received excessive publicity and overemphasis, but that the game was inherently vicious because it placed a premium on the breaking of unenforceable rules and because its code was a code of war rather than of sport."

Professor Carl L. Becker, president of the American Historical Association, writes of Benjamin Franklin, to whom he is apparently devoted: "Great men are often hampered by some inner discord or want of harmony with the world in which they live. It was Franklin's good fortune to have been endowed with a rare combination of rare qualities and to have lived at a time when circumstances favored the development of all his powers to their fullest extent. He was a true child of the Enlightenment, not indeed of the school of Rousseau, but of Defoe and Pope and Swift, of Fontenelle and Montesquieu and Voltaire. He spoke their language, although with a homely accent, a tang of the soil, that bears witness to his lowly and provincial origin. His wit and humor, lacking indeed the cool, quivering brilliance of Voltaire or the corrosive bitterness of Pope and Swift, were all the more effective and humane for their dash of genial and kindly cynicism."

Once mention has been made of the prominent lives, there is a further pleasure to be had in skimming through the whole volume and lighting on an odd name here or there. An extraordinary number of people, whose lives in the United States were so well, or so notably, lived that they are worth recording for American posterity, were born on other continents. An extraordinary number of people in this "artless" nation have been painters and sculptors of some repute. There have been "captains of industry," there have been soldiers and sailors with romantic stories.

One reads the pathetic tale of Frank Ellery, who, after an exciting youth in the navy, "by 1856 was the navy's most ancient Lieutenant." There was Daniel Decatur Emmett, "one of the originators of the 'Negro minstrel' troupe

and the author of 'Dixie.' In the Winter of 1842-43 he organized the 'Virginia Minstrels,' and designed their ludicrous costumes (white trousers, striped calico shirt, long blue calico swallowtail coat)." Or one learns of Philip Embury, reputed to have been the first Methodist preacher in America." Coming from Ireland, "he joined the Lutheran Church, but seems not to have been active in religious matters for some years. A card game and the righteous wrath of a woman awakened Embury and started the Methodist movement in America." Mrs. Barbara Heck in 1766 burst in upon a card party of her countrymen, broke up the game and then went to Embury's home and said: 'Philip, you must preach to us, or we shall all go to hell, and God will require our blood at your hands.'"

This and the preceding five volumes are a monument to Dr. Allen Johnson that will rank high in the field of scholastic attainment. They will be a source of knowledge and delight to all their readers.

## Mexico's Foreign Creditors

By WALTER C. LANGSAM

Department of History, Columbia University

MEXICO AND HER FOREIGN CREDITORS. By Edgar Turlington. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. Pp. x. 449. \$6.

IN 1925 a committee of the Columbia Faculty of Political Science, under the chairmanship of Professor Parker T. Moon, planned a three-volume research project entitled, *Mexico in International Finance and Diplomacy*. The task of writing the volume was entrusted to Edgar Turlington of the State Department, Frederick S. Dunn, and Professor Herbert Feis. Now, after five years of cooperative research and labor, the first volume of the series has appeared, dealing, as the title indicates, with the relations between Mexico and her creditors from other lands.

The method of treatment adopted by Mr. Turlington is chronological. After introducing the general aspects of the Mexican debt as an international problem the story is developed of borrowing and lending down through the 108 years of Mexico's independent existence as a member of the family of nations. A final chapter analyzes the foreign debt as of 1929, and ends with some well-meant "counsels of expediency." The more important contracts, conventions, agreements and laws referred to in the first part of the book are included in an appendix, while the unstinted and continuous use of tables and charts helps considerably to clarify the intricacies of a highly technical subject.

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*Continued from Page XIII*

The sources used in the preparation of the volume include, along with the more important general works and monographs on the various phases of Mexico's long-standing debt problem, the official *Memorias* and *Informes* issued by the Mexican Ministry of Finance, the annual reports of the London Corporation of Foreign Bondholders, the files of several prominent English and American financial journals, and the available published American and English diplomatic correspondence. For the period up to 1906, moreover, the manuscript dispatches and instructions preserved in the archives of the Department of State at Washington also were available. Since 1906, however, published material had to be supplemented by "private inquiries in informed quarters."

The total bonded indebtedness of Mexico at the present time, according to Mr. Turlington, is \$575,000,000. Of this sum well over 90 per cent, \$545,000,000, is owed to foreigners. In addition, Mexico has a floating debt of some \$450,000,000, including claims for damages to lives and property, unliquidated accounts, and land expropriations. Although a debt of over a billion dollars may seem large for a country which has a population of only 15,000,000, it must be remembered that Mexico has sufficient natural resources and potential wealth to pay off the existing obligations without undue strain, provided peace and order are maintained. Indeed, for Mexico's sake it is urgent that such order be secured, since the chief governments of the world appear to be of the opinion, as expressed by President Coolidge in 1927, that there is "a distinct and binding obligation on the part of self-respecting governments to afford protection\* \* \* to the property of their citizens wherever they may be." And bonds, of course, are property no less than houses or mines or railroads. The problem today, therefore, is one of international importance.

Mr. Turlington makes it evident that a just settlement of the foreign debt problem would require the hurdling of certain definite obstacles. There exists, first, the impression among a great many Mexicans that most foreign loans were made on terms utterly disadvantageous to their country. Outside Mexico, on the other hand, the belief commonly prevails that the governments of that land have uniformly evaded the issue of paying off the foreign debt. Finally, the question of the foreign debt is inextricably interwoven with the whole problem of Mexican financial rehabilitation. In analyzing these difficulties, Mr. Turlington shows that there was nothing "magical" about the growth of Mexico's debts, the large increments being due, simply, to the

accumulation of arrears and charges for amortization. The sacrifices of foreign investors, moreover, have been much more apparent than real, since frequently bonds were purchased at as little as 20 or 30 per cent of their face value. The third difficulty is more serious, involving, as it does, the whole question of Mexico's ability to pay. A comparison with conditions in a number of other countries, however, shows Mexico's tax burdens to be relatively light, and a few unpleasant but harmless and effective expedients in the direction of economy could well be resorted to so that foreign obligations might be met.

At the end of his study the author advises the negotiation of a new debt agreement with ample assurances to the creditors that any accepted arrangement will be carried out. Such an agreement was in fact reached just after the volume went to press. It is unfortunate that Mr. Turlington was not able to include a discussion and analysis of the pact signed in July, 1930, between the Mexican Government and the International Committee of Bankers on Mexico, but his work should prove invaluable as a guide to past and future investors in Mexican securities, to students interested in the rôle of high finance in international affairs, and to all who are concerned with our relations with Latin America.

## Poverty and the State

By JOSEPH J. SPENGLER

*Department of Economics, University of Arizona*

*POVERTY AND THE STATE.* By Gilbert Slater. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1930. Pp. vii, 480. \$4.

THE world-wide struggle against unemployment has been likened to that now being waged on cancer. Unfortunately, the comparison is not valid. The fight against cancer has assumed the proportions of a concerted international campaign, while at best the attacks on unemployment constitute a kind of guerrilla warfare, despite the fact that the pecuniary cost of unemployment is almost incalculable. In the present volume the author devotes especial attention to the anti-unemployment operations on the British front, where this spectre has been conspicuously present since the conclusion of the World War.

As the title indicates Mr. Slater examines each of the State's many relations to the problem of poverty. He traces the growth of public charity, the development of State sanitation and health administration, the genesis of methods of dealing with the mentally deficient, the physically incapacitated, and the aged. He sketches the changes in English poor law organization, examines the relation

between poverty, alcoholic consumption and gambling, and states succinctly the problem of the slums. He records the changes in child care. The final third of the book is devoted to unemployment, a major legacy from the Industrial Revolution and the primary cause of practically all dependency. Upon each problem Mr. Slater brings to bear his wide experience as a labor and social work organizer, Mayor, legislator and economist. In light of the historical changes he has recorded the author concludes that the State has ceased to be "primarily an organization for national defense" and has become instead "an organization for the prevention or mitigation of poverty by combating disease, ignorance, social disorder and unemployment, and for the care of such dependents as children, widows, aged persons, and others suffering from physical and mental disability."

Mr. Slater ascribes England's protracted economic *malaise* and unemployment to the inability of the Lancashire cotton industry to meet the post-war competition of India and Japan; the increasing costliness of coal; the disappearance of the former advantage of capital relatively cheaper than that of foreign competitors; a dominance of senility in industrial councils; an emotional and extreme individualism, and a trust in rule-of-thumb rather than in scientific research. These fundamental causes have been aggravated so far as the resulting depression is concerned by two governmental policies, the re-establishment of the pound sterling at just under \$4.87 rather than at a lower parity, and the unequal distribution of the national and the local debt. Industries bear this last burden "almost in inverse proportion to their capacity to bear it"; hence many are definitely prevented from meeting foreign competition.

The measures adopted to relieve the distress of the unemployed inspire no enthusiasm in Mr. Slater. Experiments with the construction of public works have been sporadic and unplanned and hence not very successful. The definite limitations to the economic feasibility of long-range planning of public works as a means of relieving unemployment are not considered. Nevertheless, one cannot but conclude that, since the State is supporting the unemployed, it would be preferable to use their labor power to rehabilitate the capital equipment of the country.

The author believes firmly in the efficacy of unemployment insurance but finds the British scheme faulty on three grounds. First, since the cost is not in proportion to an employer's capacity to pay, the effect is to hamper many employers in meeting competition and thus to aggravate unemployment.

Continued on Page XVII



## NEIGHBOR

once meant "a near-by farmer."

"Neighbor" is one of those interesting words that carry us back to Anglo-Saxon days. In Anglo-Saxon *neah* meant "nigh," "near," and *gebur* meant "dweller," "farmer." These two words were combined into *neahgebur*, meaning, literally, "a near-by farmer." The word appears in medieval English in the form *neighbour* and in modern English as *neighbor*. Its meaning, changing with the evolution of civilization, no longer applies particularly to neighboring farmers, but refers to persons living near each other in apartment house suites or suburban cottages as well as to those on near-by farms. Even nations in the modern world are called "neighbors"—an interesting development of a word that means literally "near-by farmers."

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# CURRENT HISTORY

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*Harris & Ewing*

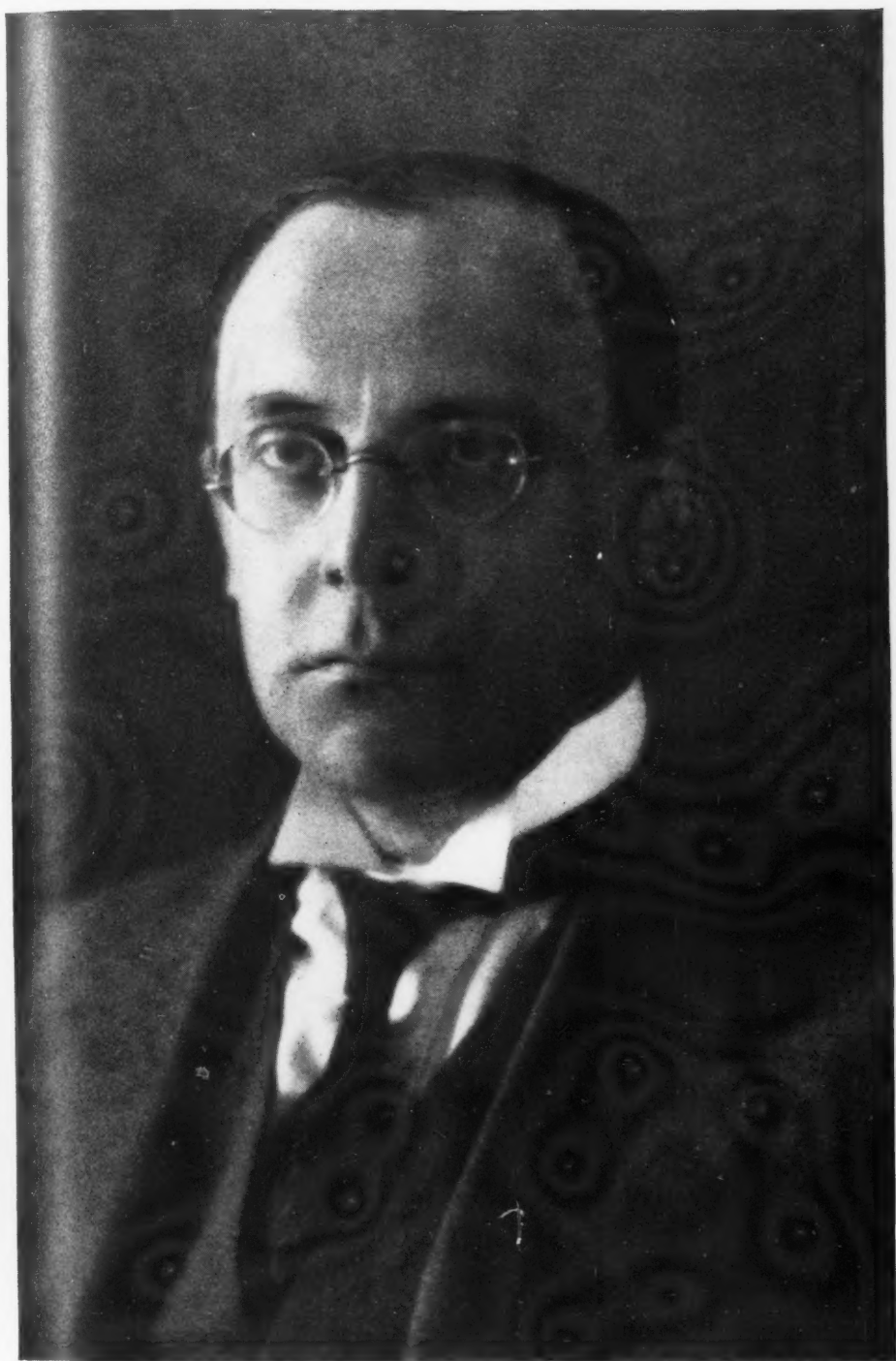
**GEORGE W. WICKERSHAM**

Chairman of the Commission on Law Enforcement, which published its second report on prohibition on Jan. 20



*Times Wide World*

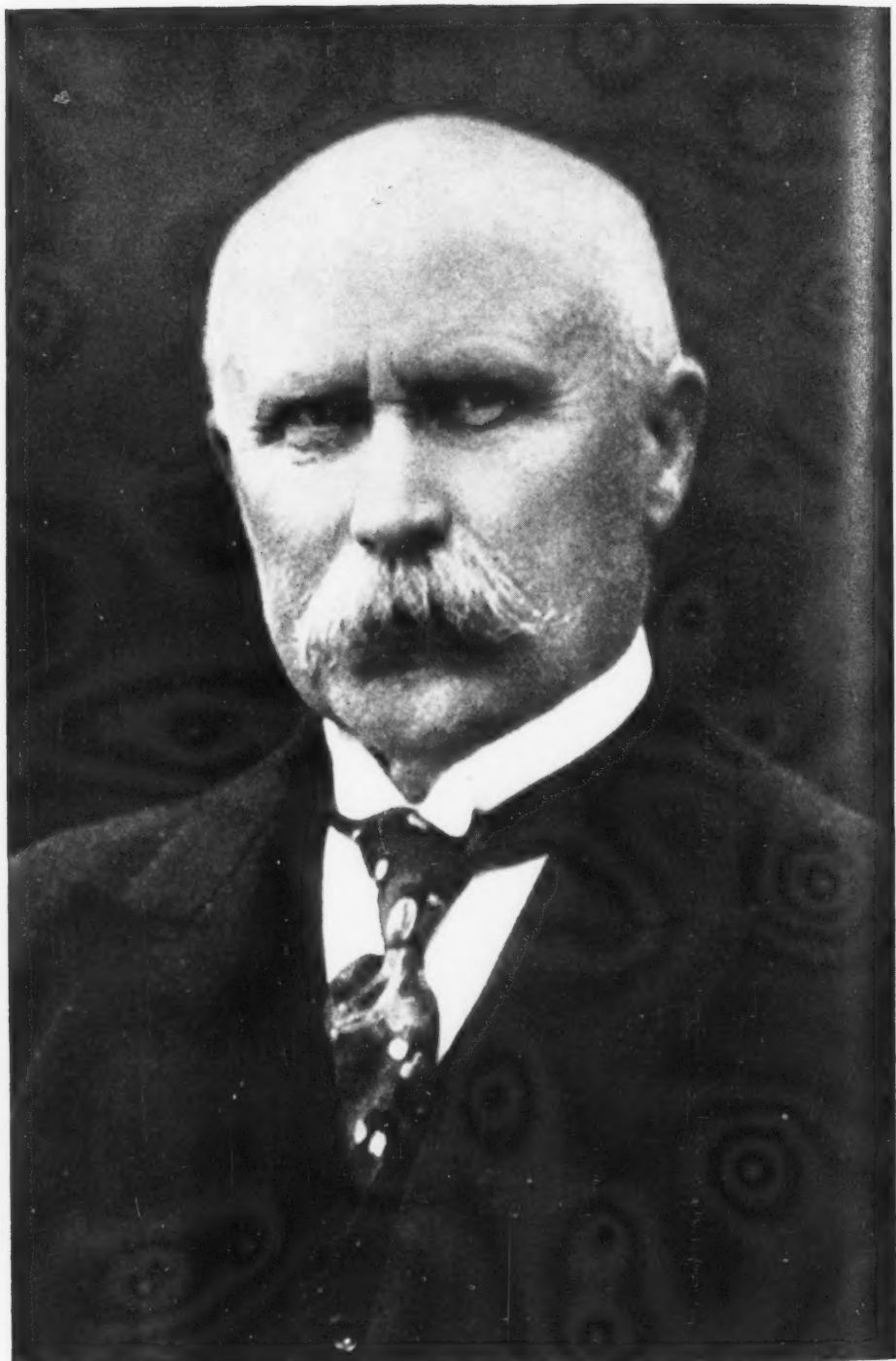
PIERRE LAVAL  
Who succeeded Theodore Steeg as Premier of France



*Courtesy League of Nations Ass'n*

**SIR ARTHUR SALTER**

Director of the Economic and Finance Section of the League of Nations,  
who has been asked to aid in the reconstruction of China



*Acme*

MARSHAL PÉTAIN

Elected a member of the French Academy in place of Marshal Foch





*New York Times Studio*

DUMAS MALONE

The new editor-in-chief of the Dictionary of American Biography, succeeding Dr. Allen Johnson who died on Jan. 19



*Harris & Ewing*

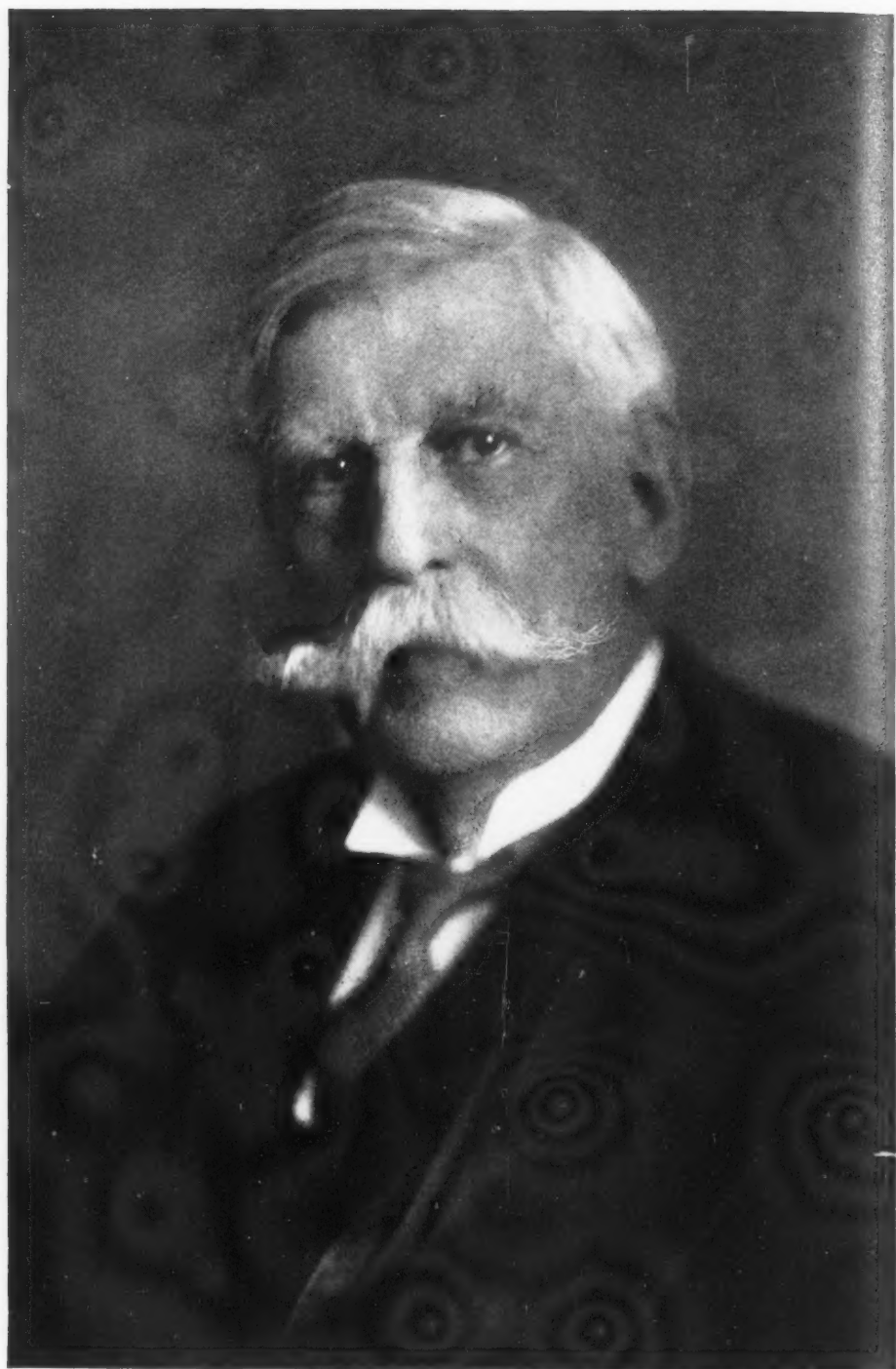
GRACE ABBOTT  
Chief of the United States Children's Bureau



*Brown Bros.*

**THE RIGHT HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL**

Who recently passed a milestone in his political career. (See the article  
by Wickham Stead on page 848)



*Harris & Ewing*

JUSTICE OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES



# CURRENT HISTORY

MARCH, 1931

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## Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes

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By CHARLES A. BEARD

Co-Author, *"The Rise of American Civilization," "The American Leviathan"*

---

ONE blustering night in the Autumn of 1927 a group of wandering Americans gathered around a festal board in Kempinski's in Berlin to celebrate the passing hours. Among them were journalists, professional writers, casual observers, people of affairs and hardened travelers who had sailed the seven seas. Before they had advanced very far into the loaded platters their conversation turned upon their own, their native land, showing where their hearts were in spite of all claims to universality.

At this stage of the game the inevitable croak was heard: "America is all right: good bath tubs, high-powered motor cars and physical comforts, except excellent food and drink; but all in all a land of thin-thinking and a scrawny civilization." Then from the worst cynic in the crowd came an unexpected counterblast that it was possible to find in the good, old U. S. A. ten rich personalities worthy of comparison with Europe's best. "Well, who are they?" rang the challenge. "I can name mine," retorted the maker of trouble, and thereupon each convivant tried his hand at the novel

enterprise. When the ballots were in and counted, behold, the name of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes led all the rest!

On March 8, 1931, the winner of this libation prize will reach his ninetyeth milestone and it seems fitting that the day should be marked by some appropriate celebration. Doubtless he would prefer silence and a friendly gesture of recognition, allowing his work, great and small, to be winnowed by the merciless action of time, for he, being a wise man, is poignantly aware that labor, not praise, builds monuments. And besides, he himself, writing of Maitland, has expressly warned us that one should almost be ashamed to belaud a master for what he has done in a field where he is acknowledged to be supreme. Yet, although we may rightly be ashamed to commend the achievements of an artist whose work transcends our poor eulogy, we may be pardoned for trying to do some honor to our understanding by bringing such tribute as we can to a captain of fate who commands our minds by the power of thought and our hearts by the magic of a good life.

Since this, at least, is so, words are inevitable.

On the day after our fellow-traveler in this vale of laughter, tears and mercy began the journey, his happy father, Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, wrote to a friend:

Last evening between 8 and 9 there appeared at No. 8 Montgomery Place a little individual who may be hereafter addressed as

—— Holmes, Esq.,

or

The Hon. —— Holmes, M. C.,

or

His Excellency —— Holmes, President, &c., &c., but who for the present is content with scratching his face and sucking his right forefinger.

It would be gratuitous to dwell here upon the home into which this little individual was born and came to maturity—upon the brilliant and many-sided father, the mother who wore the poet's armor of gentleness, wisdom, virtue and endurance, or the community, old and rich in traditions, in which his formative years were spent. They are all a part of American history and, like Webster's Massachusetts, will stand forever. But it will be appropriate to remind the negligent at least that the elder Holmes, while conservative in politics, was an adventurer in more dangerous fields. By New England theologians of the old school, as his biographer says, he was called various names ranging from "freethinker" to "atheist." Philosophers of the lower criticism assailed his *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* as "a work of irreligious tendency" and his *Elsie Venner* as an achievement of "the very Antichrist." But he smiled gently and went his way. "To think of trying to waterproof the American mind against the questions that heaven rains down upon it shows a misapprehension of our conditions." Quite so, and a dissent in the Rosika Schwimmer case echoes it.

Oliver Wendell Holmes Junior went through a sterner school than that of the cultivated home in which his early

years were spent. Scarcely had he left the gates of Harvard College when the brazen clangor of war which filled the land with its alarms called him to the service of his country on a field where one question at least was to be settled not by reason but by violence. And soon he was at death's door. At Ball's Bluff he was knocked down by a spent bullet and sent to the rear. Recovering quickly from this mishap, he hurried back to the front, to the thick of things, where in two or three minutes he received a shot above the heart, which his surgeon pronounced mortal. Careful nursing, however, partly at home under his parents' care, brought him around again and as soon as he was able to shoulder his musket, he was once more on the battle line. Again he was wounded, at the fateful Antietam, and yet again, at Marye's Hill, Fredericksburg. It was with the warrior's full honors that he was mustered out of service and returned to private life.

After a brief season as instructor in Harvard College, young Holmes married Fannie Dixwell and settled down to the practice of the law. For ten years he was busy with his briefs, but not too busy to think of other things. The love of learning still lured him and when Harvard invited him back to fill a professorship in the Law School, he accepted with a scholar's rejoicing. To all outward appearances an academic career had been opened. Then the Commonwealth of Massachusetts interfered by making him an Associate Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court and later elevated him to the post of Chief Justice. Measuring up to the traditions of that tribunal, he soon attracted national attention and when, in 1902, President Roosevelt sought a judge of discernment, independence and spirit he turned to Massachusetts for help. Judge Holmes passed to Washington, where for twenty-nine years he has expounded the law of the land.

Even from this fragmentary outline it is apparent that Mr. Holmes

brought to the Supreme bench a character, training and experience thoroughly unique. The cultural heritage of the home from which he sprang was a rare combination of literary, scientific and artistic elements. His education at Harvard had been supplemented by the iron discipline of war—not the discipline of the swivel chair but of steel and blood and dirt. A martial strain entered the music of his soul and still remains. In his preface to the *Collected Essays*, published in 1920, he speaks of himself as “an old warrior who cannot expect to bear arms much longer.”

To his early education in books and arms he had added a training in scholarship, in the kind of research and construction which gave distinction to the great legal writers of Germany and England. Before he ascended the Supreme bench of the United States he had written learned articles on agency, on privilege, malice and intent and on executors. A paper on early English equity, bristling with citations in Latin and German, showed that he was a master where mastery meant labor and penetration. Had he been vouchsafed nine lives he could have spent one quite happily, it may be imagined, with the laws of the Angles and Saxons, the Constitutions of Clarendon and the Yearbooks; at all events, he could have produced huge works of high scholarship worthy of a place on the same shelf with the brilliant writings of Maitland. This is not speculation. Did not Oxford and Berlin honor themselves by conferring degrees on Mr. Holmes, making him a doctor as well as a judge?

Learning he had supplemented by experience in the practice of law, but not long enough to acquire the fixed habits of the advocate or the patronage of great combinations in trade. At least when he closed that chapter he had not mounted as the counsel of billions to a fortune that meant town houses, country houses and steam yachts. At the early age of 41 he had

been transferred from the bar to the Supreme bench of his State, where for ten years he brought the calm, disinterested and balanced magic of scholarship to bear on every kind of controversy the broad Commonwealth of Massachusetts could afford—a Commonwealth already far advanced on the road to modern industrialism.

In a great age when Joseph H. Choate could call a Federal income tax sheer communism and workmen's compensation legislation could be deemed by the good and true the handiwork of Herr Most himself, Judge Holmes, looking backward and around and forward took a broader view. In fact, as President Roosevelt said of him, his “labor decisions” were criticized by “some of the big railroad men and other members of large corporations.” And strange to relate, in the ironical economy of Providence, William McKinley had a successor who thought this “a strong point in Judge Holmes's favor.” While considering the appointment of Judge Holmes to the Supreme Court of the United States, President Roosevelt wrote to Henry Cabot Lodge: “The ablest lawyers and greatest judges are men whose past has naturally brought them into close relationship with the wealthiest and most powerful clients and I am glad when I can find a judge who has been able to preserve his aloofness of mind so as to keep his broad humanity of feeling and his sympathy for the class from which he has not drawn his clients.” The angularity of juridical reasoning was to be tempered by civilization.

While ordinarily an idealized picture of society is supposed, with good warrant, to furnish the guide for inclining judicial opinion to one side or the other, there is apparently no rigid economic framework in Justice Holmes's mind. Indeed, if we may judge by his letter entitled “Economic Elements,” printed in his collected essays, he has no framework at all. He certainly is not a radical in any sense of the word, the kind of a radi-

cal who would go back to Jefferson's land of farms and country stores, or the other kind who would march straight into some kind of a socialistic order. Mr. Holmes does not fear wealth nor monopoly nor the concentration of riches. Whether capital is owned by the few or the many, he seems to think, it is always put to work and distributes its benefits widely through economic laws. That he has ever sought to penetrate to the roots of economic processes in their historic setting and their possible upshot, that he has ever tried to formulate some concept of destiny and possibility in this sphere is nowhere evident in his writings. Nor is this surprising. Such articulated schemes are foreign to his temper and thinking, are too Olympian, and take in a larger cross-section of experience than he would consider valid for practical judgments.

Yet if it may be truly said that Justice Holmes has no economic blueprint amid his intellectual furniture, it must be quickly added that he does not look upon his judicial obligations as requiring him to throw himself athwart the experiments of those who are controlled by dogmatic pictures. In fact, that is an inescapable outcome of his non-Olympian jurisprudence. As he once remarked, he does not think that the Fourteenth Amendment enacted Mr. Herbert Spencer's *Social Statics* into a higher law for the American people. Hence if they want to pass statutes which seem socialistic to the National Manufacturers' Association, Justice Holmes does not feel warranted in striking down their projects in the name of celestial mechanics. Should the same people enact a bill designed to re-establish ancient individualism on a more secure economic foundation, he would not interfere unless some very palpable provision of the Constitution were overridden. Judging by his findings thus far, the future may hold a lot of socialism and a lot of individualism, and he will observe with the

same serenity the forward and backward currents.

Since his economic sailing chart has gaps in it, allows for unexpected detours and seems to have no explicit direction in it at all, it follows that his concept of the total social order to be maintained or attained is even more flexible. It has been said in this relation that the English have for their motto "Muddle" and the Germans for theirs, "System." Dialecticians may argue the merits of these respective philosophies and the present plight of both peoples suggests caution on the point; but Mr. Holmes has aligned himself with the English school—if disorderly order may be so characterized. His training in, his knowledge of, and his affection for, the common law drive him in that direction. Should the giant, System, overpower him in some moment of forgetfulness, the exigent voice of experience would soon recall him to watchfulness. He has seen many grand plans, logically conceived and copper-riveted by citations, melt in the crucible of time and many less ambitious designs bring happy results. His awareness of human frailty puts him on his guard against staking hopes too large on any of men's little schemes for perfection.

This absence of system, however, does not imply chaos but another approach than that of dogmatism. If it must be characterized, perilously, the liberalism of John Stuart Mill may be applied to it. Justice Holmes, sitting in the stillness of the court room, where even the hottest passions are translated into icy logic, knows full well, as he once remarked himself, that a storm rages outside. He suspects that nobody, not even the greatest corporation lawyer, can say the last word about anything; there will always be differences of opinion and it is the better part of wisdom to bring them into the open, to examine them, to inquire into the motives behind them, to let them have their days and years in court, trusting to



the long judgment of mankind rather than to the precious learning of authority. To him liberty of opinion is not merely a virtue in itself; it is a method of transacting public business in a democracy—the best guarantee in the long run against a resort to violence in the arbitrament of disputes. Hence, as he has said, he will listen to opinions that are hateful to him as well as those that are pleasing to his ears. Perhaps he has read somewhere in Milton that truth comes to us first in hideous mien. In any case where the mandate of the law is not clear and positive, where there is fair room for difference and doubt, he will let truth and error wrestle freely in the forum, warned by his deep, high, wide and timeless awareness against the assumption that he, even as a judge in the supreme tribunal of the land, is commissioned by Sinai to preside over the process of history as opportunity and destiny.

How, then, is he to be classified? It might as well be said at once that he is the despair of the systematists. After an analysis of Justice Holmes's opinions, Dr. Dorsey Richardson settles this issue for good. Mr. Holmes does not belong to the analytical, historical or sociological school, although he uses all their instrumentalities for his purposes. He finds no natural law in the juristic world, no rights of man graven on stone for all time; with Spartan economy he says: "Duties and rights arise from the practical necessity of forbearance." He takes precedents none too seriously; he would even part the sacred curtain and look into the motives which influence judicial decisions; he has small patience with logic-chopping efforts to reconcile them, dovetail them and cast them into an iron mold. They furnish guidance for him, to be sure, and sometimes they are imperative, but he is not bed-ridden with them. He does not try to reconcile life with their apparent dogmas; he seeks, rather, to reconcile them to life—to the requirements of decency, common

sense and fair play. The dust-sifters in the legal profession will say: "No mystery here." Quite right; no more than in the parables of Jesus.

Life and experience. These are the seals of his firm assurance. And science illuminates them. "The life of the law," Mr. Holmes explains, "has not been logic; it has been experience. The felt necessities of the time, the prevalent moral and political theories, intuitions of public policy, avowed or unconscious, even the prejudices which judges share with their fellow-men, have had a good deal more to do than syllogisms in determining the rules by which men should be governed." If some kind of a scheme must be erected out of these fragments of experience and action, then let science preside. "An ideal scheme of law," he adds, "should draw its postulate and its legislative justification from science." Which, after all, is another way of saying the same thing. Science, in its right mind, does not sit on Olympus, but walks the dusty ways of life, eager to learn from the humble earthworm no less than from the rolling planets. When all these briefs are filed, the voice of virtue is heard. "Law is the business to which my life is devoted," openly confessed Mr. Holmes on one occasion, "and I should show less than devotion if I did not do what in me lies to improve it and, when I perceive what seems to me to be the ideal of its future, if I hesitated to point it out and to press toward it with all my heart."

From this it follows that the Constitution of the United States, as law, bows to higher imperatives than those invented by the Daughters of the American Revolution. "The provisions of the Constitution are not mathematical formulas having their essence in their form; they are organic living institutions transplanted from English soil. Their significance is vital, not formal; it is to be gathered not simply by taking the words and a dictionary but by considering their

origin and the line of their growth \* \* \* The case before us must be considered in the light of our whole experience and not merely in that of what was said a hundred years ago." Stretching back into the past are lines of growth, around us is experience, and the future warns us against attempting to fix things too rigidly, for life will continue to preside and the slender roots of the oak will split the hardest monuments. Thus was echoed from the quiet chamber on Capitol Hill the fierce cry of Theodore Roosevelt: "The Constitution is not a strait-jacket." And if the army of school teachers who are trying to drive that instrument into the heads of millions of children could sit at the feet of Justice Holmes, even the gravest problems of the future could be solved within the rationality of the law.

If such intangibles are to be admitted as conclusive, what then has been Mr. Holmes's great contribution to American constitutional jurisprudence? The technicians, of course, have ready a long bill of details which in skeleton form would fill all the pages allotted to this essay; but, to speak with Draconian severity, we may sum the answer up in one word: "Awareness." Early in his career upon the Supreme bench Mr. Holmes bluntly told his brethren that the case in hand had been decided by the majority on an economic theory which a large part of the country did not entertain, that general principles do not decide concrete cases, that the outcome depends upon a judgment or intuition more subtle than any articulate major premise. Since that time judges of that high tribunal have got into the habit of warning their brethren against reading their theories into the Constitution; in other words, to watch their step, to be on perpetual guard against applying the sharp edge of inherited pre-

conception to the quivering body of society. No doubt, men who came to maturity in the high noon of McKinley's prosperity find it difficult to appreciate fully what has happened to their intellectual parts, but things have already gone so far that the most eloquent exposition of Manchesterism brings signs of weariness to the placid brow of justice. This means that judges can no longer work so naively, must turn in upon themselves to inquire into their own mental processes, and in the end bring law more closely into harmony with the inexorably predominating experience of society. Timidity is not the upshot, but the highest form of accommodating realism. Owing to the ministrations of Mr. Holmes, awareness of four dimensions has entered the very citadel of American jurisprudence.

But Mr. Holmes's contribution to American life has not been limited to the law. Anticipating in many respects Dr. Abraham Flexner's warning against the *ad hoc* education that stunts instead of enlarging the mind, Mr. Holmes long ago lifted up the true university ideal, while speaking to technicians: "A law school," he said, "ought to teach law in the grand manner \* \* \* If a man is a specialist, it is most desirable that he should be civilized \* \* \* that he should be reasonable and see things in their proportion. He should be passionate as well as reasonable, able to explain and to feel." That is not all. "The ardors of intellectual pursuit should be relieved by the charms of art, should be succeeded by the joy of life become an end in itself." After all, he returns upon the centre discovered by the Greeks—the good life—around which even the stars that seem to be fixed must finally revolve unless, forsooth, night is to close in upon the earth.

# Ten Years of Prohibition

By JAMES J. FORRESTER

*Former President, American Federation of Express Workers; Research Expert  
With the Wickersham Commission*

[Immediately on publication of the report of the Wickersham commission on prohibition the Editor of *CURRENT HISTORY* requested James J. Forrester, who was mentioned in the report as having made "investigations and reports on the effects of prohibition in industry and the condition of wage-earners and their families," to prepare for this magazine his interpretation of the results of the investigations, not only in his own field but in the others surveyed.]

Mr. Forrester's interpretation should be read in conjunction with the conclusions that were signed by ten of the eleven members of the commission. Mr. Forrester's article leads to the inescapable conclusion that the Eighteenth Amendment is unenforceable, whereas ten of the eleven members of the commission write in their summary: "Some of the commission are not convinced that prohibition under the Eighteenth Amendment is unenforceable and believe that a further trial should be made. \* \* \* Others of the commission are convinced that it has been demonstrated that prohibition under the Eighteenth Amendment is unenforceable."

With respect to the benefits of prohibition, the commission reports that "there is general agreement among social workers that there has been distinct improvement in standards of living among those with whom such workers come in contact, which must be attributed to prohibition."

Referring to industry, the report states that "there is strong and convincing evidence, supporting the view of the greater number of large employers, that a notable increase in production consequent upon increased efficiency of labor and elimination of the chronic absence of great numbers of workers after Sundays and holidays is directly attributable to doing away with saloons." The report refers to the contention, as stated by Mr. Forrester, that the increased efficiency is attributable to other causes, but it concludes: "With all deductions, we are satisfied that a real and significant gain following prohibition has been established."—Editor, *CURRENT HISTORY*.]

WHEN the Eighteenth Amendment was officially proclaimed a part of the Federal Constitution on Jan. 20, 1920, a large majority of our people believed that the question of the control of intoxicating liquors, long agitated in many ways and by many methods, had been finally and definitely settled. They foresaw the abolition of the saloon and its attendant evils, and the elimination of liquor as a factor in politics. The adoption of the amendment was accomplished by a union of the forces of temperance and those who advocated total abstinence. At that time the line of demarkation between them was not plainly defined, but under the operation of national prohibition, it has become increasingly more pronounced.

Two results immediately followed national prohibition; the one good, the other unfortunate, not to say bad. The legalized saloon went out of business and simultaneously there was a cessation, now almost complete, of temperance education. In its place was substituted the fiat of law, the mandate of the statute. Experience has demonstrated that it has not been generally accepted, and hence it has not been successful.

It was not humanly possible to anticipate the extent to which interference with "personal liberty" would be resented, nor the degree to which lack of observance of the law and the failure or inability to enforce it would adversely affect the social, family and economic life of the people. That this resentment and these effects, now so apparent, would follow Federal prohi-

bition, was not foreseen. That gross and unexpected evils have resulted is not now a question of serious contention. A situation has developed where a steadily increasing number of the original supporters of the law among those who might be classed as temperance advocates, as distinguished from uncompromising prohibitionists, is being added to the ranks of those who demand a change. Careful surveys show that this sentiment exists among people in all walks of life wherever contact has been had with the acknowledged evils. It prevails after weighing the benefits of prohibition which in themselves are confused and disputed, according to the volumes of testimony adduced before the Wickersham law enforcement commission.

There remain in support of the law the advocates of enforced total abstinence, and those who are willing to give it further trial until such time as some substitute which shall be legally workable and socially acceptable shall be put forth and receive popular support. Among those who favor a change, whether they were originally anti-prohibitionists or are converts, there is no unanimity of opinion regarding a plan for handling the liquor problem. This in itself gives strength to the status quo.

Prohibition represented the first effort in American history to extend directly, by constitutional provision, the control of the Federal Government to the personal habits and conduct of the individual. It was, and still is, an attempt quite at variance with the general spirit of our institutions. It found the government wholly unprepared both physically and psychologically. Paradoxically, the first two or three years of national prohibition witnessed a far greater degree of observance than has since been attained. Enforcement, even in its crude and unsystematic form, was comparatively easy when, for whatever reason it might be, people generally observed the law.

The reason for this observance has not been difficult to discover. Subsequent events have demonstrated that it was not because of a high minded purpose to support the law. People who wished to have liquor and who possessed the means of acquiring it, took advantage of the hiatus between the promulgation of the amendment and the enactment of the prohibition statute, a period of one year, to "stock up" in anticipation of a dry era. The cellars and storehouses of the well-to-do were filled with the best liquors obtainable. While these lasted there was no incentive to attempt violation. The middle and working classes and all others who were not so foresighted, were left without supplies. Illicit liquor, from any source, had not come into the market. The small amounts that percolated in from Canada and the ports and those produced by the existing moonshine stills were negligible compared with those which had been previously available. The organized production of illicit liquor was in its infancy, and "home brew" and "home distillation" were novelties.

Moreover, there was the fear of the law and its penalties. Violators were timid. As time went on, however, they became bolder. The demand arose, not only from those whose supply had been shut off, but from those whose stocks were rapidly diminishing. Fear wore away with the laxity of enforcement, while the huge profits from the sale of liquor were most tempting. Resentment against prohibition increased, and there followed a general disregard of the law until failure to observe the law now prevails in every quarter of the country, in the suburban sections as well as in the urban centres, in towns and villages and even in the country districts, although to a lesser extent there than elsewhere. Only in those local communities, generally small in population, which were actually dry before Federal prohibition is there any substantial observance of the



law. In the cities and larger towns of previously dry States there is a marked lack of observance.

A mass of information from reliable sources discloses the prevalence of drinking in homes, hotels and clubs, so-called night clubs, at Summer and Winter resorts, at private parties and quasi-public functions such as dinners and conventions, among persons of high standing and respectability. It is done by those who are said to constitute the middle class, by professional and business men and by workers in industry. No class is free from it, nor are there any differences as regards age or sex, for the testimony reveals a marked increase in drinking among women and among boys and girls who have not attained legal age, all in disregard of the national policy of prohibition. "Drinking parties" have become a popular form of entertainment. Such testimony comes from large numbers of leaders in representative communities.

Since the drinking of intoxicating beverages is not an offense against the prohibition laws, it follows that demand in the lack of observance is responsible for the violation proscribed, namely, manufacture, sale, transportation, importation and exportation. Exportation of liquors may be omitted from consideration, since there is practically none from the United States. To meet the demand for liquor there are four chief sources of supply: those from importation, illicit domestic manufacture, diversion of industrial alcohol and home distillation, and home brewing. Wine making, which is carried on mainly in homes, though extensive, is not a major violation.

Importation may be considered first, not because it is the source of the largest supply, but because it is the source of supply of what is regarded as the best liquor. This easily finds its way into the homes of the wealthy and well-to-do, into the fashionable hotels and clubs, the better

grade of roadhouses and speakeasies patronized by the more prosperous. By far the greater part of the supply comes from Canada. In the early days of prohibition the trade was carried on direct by rum-runners, using satchels, handbags and suitcases, and private passenger automobiles camouflaged as tourist cars; then by use of automobile trucks, airplanes, falsely labeled freight cars, and then in fleets of swiftly running boats across the rivers and lakes. Almost every conceivable method of transportation was employed, and still is, but the business has been placed upon an organized basis, where, if one method is stopped or one place of entry is blocked, another is quickly and easily developed. The practical impossibility of policing more than 3,000 miles of boundary and the susceptibility of enforcement officers at large entry points to bribery, enabled the violators to maintain a constant and growing supply direct from Canada until 1929.

In that year the Canadian Government, at the instigation of our own, forbade clearance of liquor consigned to the United States. The result has been to lessen direct importation, but not to prevent it. Great quantities still come across the border. The amount of Canadian liquor coming into the United States, however, has not been diminished, but the bases of importation have been changed. Canadian liquor is now shipped to the West Indies, to the small islands off the coast of Florida, to the Caribbean, to Mexico and, to some extent, to Central American countries, whence it is re-shipped into the United States, transported to storehouses and distributed to wholesalers, retailers and consumers. The increased cost is added to the price and, since this supply goes mainly to well-to-do persons who demand "good liquor," the result is the same, and importations are increasing. Distribution is general. There are also some importations from South America and the Orient, but by

far the greatest amount comes from Canada.

Diversion of industrial alcohol has constituted, and still constitutes, an important source of supply, although it is much easier to control, especially since 1928 when a limit was placed upon the quantity that licensed plants are allowed to produce, and also since there has been a reduction in the number of the independent denaturing plants. Notwithstanding, there has been overproduction beyond the needs of industries, and heavy withdrawals have been made for illicit purposes. Also, chemical skill, stimulated by the large profits, has been successful in defeating the processes by which alcohol has been denatured at the distilleries. Moreover, the art of making alcohol has been so improved and cheapened, and the materials from which it can be produced have been found to be so numerous that the incentive to divert alcohol manufactured in legalized distilleries, and to redistill denatured alcohol has been somewhat lessened. Inventive genius has been quite as skillful in providing an illicit product as in providing a legal one. This development has also resulted in producing a higher grade of bootleg liquor than was made during the first half of the decade of prohibition. Estimates as to the amount of industrial alcohol diverted during the year ended June 30, 1930, vary from 9,000,000 to 15,000,000 proof gallons. The exact amount is probably somewhere between the two.

The third and largest source of supply of hard liquor is from organized manufacturing. Investigation shows that the country adjacent to most cities and large towns is honeycombed with illicit stills, many of them of large capacity. The volume of liquor that they produce is much greater than the amount imported; probably four times as much, the demand being greater because the price is cheaper. It is these that supply the great army of bootleggers and the speakeasies. Sometimes the bootlegger

makes his own product; sometimes he buys from the manufacturers, but always he is the middleman in the business. He handles distribution and sales. Besides the speakeasies, which take the place of the old saloons in the cities, and the roadhouses, his customers are the proprietors of "beer flats" and "blind pigs"—resorts where all kinds of liquors are sold either in bulk or at retail—innumerable places camouflaged as groceries, cigar stores and candy shops which find it financially profitable to sell liquor on the side to individuals at retail. These include small business and professional people, clerks and the more financially fortunate workingmen; in fact, any one who has the price.

The liquors are not so good as those imported, and the cost to the consumer is less, but there are "millions in it" for the makers, the bootleggers and the retailers. The demand is heavy; the danger of arrest is comparatively small and of successful prosecution still smaller. Like importation, the business started on a small scale after the adoption of prohibition as a national policy. Both production and distribution are now highly organized. Those distilling, transporting and selling are employees; behind them are the operators who supply capital, make plans and reap enormous profits. To a large extent they are able to counteract efforts at detection and to avoid seizure of their plants. When a still is destroyed, they proceed to another location, and with new equipment and easily available materials set up other stills. They provide funds for the defense of those arrested and for the payment of fines when such are imposed. If conviction and imprisonment result, they often care for the families of those sent to jail and furnish re-employment when prisoners are released. Organized production and distribution have outstripped organized enforcement. It is these violators who chiefly produce the hi-jackers, the racketeers and the criminal gangs that fight for control

of profitable liquor distributing territory. They are powerful, dangerous and a potent factor in influencing politics in many parts of the country.

A fourth and prolific source of supply is the home manufacturer, who may also be said to include the individual and independent moonshiner type of former days, whose tribe has increased many fold during the decade of prohibition. The basement of his house, a garage, a barn, sometimes an abandoned or temporarily untenanted dwelling, is the scene of his operations, both in the cities and in the country. The distilling apparatus is easy to obtain, the materials abundant and the process simple. He uses redistilled commercial alcohol, corn sugar, cornmeal, fruit, fruit and vegetable parings, raisins and various kinds of cereals. The most commonly used ingredient is corn sugar, the production of which has increased far beyond the apparent demand of legitimate commerce during the past five or six years. He sells direct to the local trade, to speakeasies, "beer flats," "blind pigs" and other places handling small quantities with quick turnovers.

In many communities where home manufacturing is carried on, sale is made to rum-runners who come in large passenger automobiles or trucks, generally at fixed periods, and gather up the product in five-gallon metal containers, much as milk is collected in the country from farms. This method forms a large and growing business, especially in localities near rivers or lakes where the liquor can be sent in quantity to distributing points. Often the market is 200 miles or more distant. Wholesale prices for home-manufactured liquor range from \$2.50 to \$5 a gallon, according to the quality and the alcoholic content, and the business is steadily growing, so that it forms an important branch of the illicit industry. Home brew and home-made wines are not generally commercialized.

The large nationally known breweries have generally observed the law, and these produce a legal cereal beverage. Unlawful beer, however is produced in large quantities, sometimes in local plants in open defiance of the law and in connivance with enforcement officers and inspectors; sometimes in plants which ostensibly produce only cereal beverages, and largely in so-called wildcat and alley breweries. The former are plants operating without a permit and the latter, small plants set up in buildings apparently used for other purposes. Frequently they are established near a filling station so as to enable tanks to go and come without arousing suspicion, or in connection with an apparently legitimate bottling establishment. They are made possible by the development of "wort," a cooled, boiled mash containing no alcohol. Beer is produced by adding yeast. The imposition of a tax upon "wort" in one State has yielded a large revenue which tends to show its extensive use.

The total number of stills seized and destroyed in 1929 was approximately twelve times the average number in the years before prohibition; yet the aggregate of those now in existence does not appear to have diminished. It is reasonable to believe from the showing of production that the number is increasing, and that the stills are larger in capacity.

The estimated number of speakeasies is three times the number of saloons before prohibition, and in some large centres of population the proportion is even greater. No reliable estimate is obtainable from the investigations as to the number of people who are drinking, as compared to those who drank before prohibition, but there is abundant evidence showing the increase in the classes of those who are drinking, and in the character of drinking. Many women who did not drink intoxicating liquors before prohibition are now indulging in them and young persons of both sexes

are drinking far more than formerly. From the wide disregard of the law, and the ease with which liquor is obtainable it would appear that in general only those are not drinking who do not wish to drink.

It has been impossible, also, to secure any reliable information upon which to compare the cost of drinking now with the cost in pre-prohibition years. But in view of its prevalence, as well as of increased prices and the use of spirits in place of fermented beverages, it is the opinion of most unbiased investigators that the country's drink bill, making allowances for increase of population, is quite as large now, if not larger, than before the adoption of prohibition as a national policy.

That the Federal Government is making a sincere and earnest effort to enforce the prohibition law, that there has been during the past year or two an improvement in the character and ability of enforcement agents, in their efficiency, loyalty and understanding of their duties, is proved by the recent inquiry; yet it is far from adequate to compel obedience. This improvement gives argument to those who would continue the law for further trial. It has been particularly notable since the enforcement corps was placed under civil service rules and regulations. Before that time appointments were largely political patronage. Many agents were neither honest nor intelligent nor capable. Their pay being small, they were susceptible to bribery, blackmail, conspiracy, perjury and corruption. Their methods were crude, cruel, often unnecessary and illegal. The turnover was tremendous. According to the findings of the Wickersham commission it amounted, before July 1, 1930, to 13,586, out of a total of 17,922 appointments. When the examinations were held many did not attempt them, and of those who did 59 per cent failed to qualify, which in itself bespeaks the low calibre of

the organization and the consequent failure of enforcement.

Among investigators there is practically unanimous opinion that the Federal Government alone cannot successfully enforce the law, and that State and local cooperation is necessary. With rare exceptions the States have failed to exercise their concurrent jurisdiction more than nominally. Six States have no enforcement act and two others voted last year to repeal their liquor laws. In Virginia only has there been any State cooperation which is regarded as approaching satisfaction. This does not mean that the law is satisfactorily enforced there, but rather that Virginia is making more of an effort to do so than is made elsewhere.

In only a few States are there separate enforcement departments. The rest leave enforcement to their general law enforcement officers, with the result that the burden is thus placed largely upon the Federal Government; ten years of experience have shown that the National Government alone cannot satisfactorily perform this function. The courts have held that there is no obligation upon the States to exercise concurrent jurisdiction. Only local public sentiment can force such action. Close studies reveal the fact that such local public sentiment does not exist in sufficient strength; in fact, public sentiment is swiftly moving in the opposite direction. It is coming to take the form of expression that this is a Federal law, let the Federal Government enforce it. This it cannot do single handed.

With respect to the benefits gained from prohibition, and which are in their nature contingent upon enforcement, inquiry discloses widely different opinions. Many employers state that it has increased efficiency and hence increased production. On the other hand, a vast majority of the workers in industry and their leaders dispute this assertion, and maintain that increased efficiency and in-



creased production are almost wholly due to improved machinery and improved methods, to better inspection and better working conditions, rather than to prohibition. On the social side, social workers testify that there has been an improvement (eliminating conditions due to general business depression of the past eighteen months) in family life. Generally, they accredit prohibition with being only one factor in this improvement. Other elements quite as potent are the fact that the family income is being enhanced by the women of the household engaging in remunerative employment, by wage increases that began with the World War and were fairly well maintained until recently, by the practice of saving taught by the Liberty Loan sales, the advancement of medical science, improvement in sanitation, and various other causes.

All evidence tends to show a highly demoralizing effect of prohibition upon certain large elements of our foreign population. This is nowhere more apparent than in the large coal-mining areas, where the overwhelming and undisputed testimony is that continuous, open and flagrant violation of the law exists among the workers. They make and drink the vilest liquors in their homes, almost without exception, and there is free indulgence on the part of women as well as men, and by boys and girls.

Places where liquor can be had are more numerous than before prohibition, and there is practically no effort to conceal them. This condition in the anthracite regions shows not only a lack of observance of the prohibition law but has developed a general contempt for all law among all classes of the foreign born except the Lithuanians. The testimony of physicians who come in contact with the conditions is, with few exceptions, that not only is intemperance increasing but loathsome diseases, and that there is wholesale disregard of sexual morality. In the soft coal sections unemployed miners have turned to making and selling "hooch," and, finding it more profitable than mining, the judgment of their leaders is that they will be reluctant to return to their trade when and if normal business conditions return. In the cities the profits from the sale of illicit liquor have served to capitalize the lawless in their criminal undertakings.

Sifted down, the testimony of investigators agrees upon practically only one point as to the social advantages of prohibition to be conserved, and this is the elimination of the saloon. Despite the fact that it has been superseded by three times as many speakeasies, there is no sentiment favoring the return of the saloon, even under improved conditions of control.

# Stability of the German Republic

By GEORG BERNHARD

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WILL the German Republic endure? This question is asked on the assumption that the German people are dissatisfied with existing conditions, that a part of them believe the adverse situation to be due to political reasons, and that hence the republic will have to make way for the old, time-tried monarchy. Certainly economic conditions in Germany have grown worse in the last year. This development is naturally directly connected with the losing of the war and the heavy burdens which the Treaty of Versailles imposed on the German people, and which, despite the amelioration brought by the Dawes and Young plans, still severely oppress Germany's whole economic life. But the economic situation, both as it affects the public purse and private enterprise, is also a result of grave political mistakes made by both the government and the parties. In part these mistakes are comprehensible and excusable. They may be explained by the peculiar state of mind that existed at the end of the war, partly intensified by the attitude of Germany's former enemies.

When Germany lost the war every government was compelled to direct its attention to two problems—how to revivify the nation's physical forces and how to find work for the returning soldiers. Both problems were rendered more difficult by the fact that the authority of the former ruling

class had been destroyed, while the empire had been replaced by a republic which was only reluctantly tolerated by the privileged classes under the old government and openly opposed by certain Left Wing groups consisting of Socialists and the newly organized Communist party, supported by Moscow. These factors made it more difficult for the government of People's Commissioners which, with Ebert as chairman, was composed equally of members of the old Social Democratic party and the Independent Socialists, to follow the sensible course in securing funds necessary to supply the people with food. There was but one rational way—to tax property, and especially to confiscate a considerable part of war profits. But this could not be done since the government, in its struggle against the Communists and for the preservation of democratic principles, had to seek support from the circles that contained most of the big war profiteers. Hence it chose the method which weak governments have adopted from time immemorial. The presses were set to printing paper money, and thus Germany pursued the fateful path of inflation which the Imperial Government had traveled during the war.

The second problem—finding employment for the returning armies—had to be solved with great speed under the existing conditions. For unemployment of the armed men who

were returning would have intensified radicalism and also the prevalent inclination to transfer from the front to the city streets the fighting to which they had become accustomed. There was nothing to do but to compel the employers by law to take back all employes who returned from the front, and also, as far as possible, to refrain from discharging the persons then employed by them. This hindered the necessary readjustment of Germany's economic life from a wartime to a peacetime status.

In Germany, as in America, production had been increased and its scope extraordinarily broadened during the war. The whole country had worked for the war. From an economic viewpoint this meant an unprecedented increase of active capital. But in contrast with the United States, Germany had to reckon with the fact that no normal market could be created for this increased production. Reason would have demanded a reduction of productive capacity, at least as soon as the first hunger for goods was satisfied. Probably the production of such great quantities, in view of the reduced purchasing power, would have led to a severe economic crisis if the inflation inaugurated by the government had not created an artificial purchasing power in the domestic market and an equally artificial and eventually damaging increase of Germany's export capacity. As a result the actual situation was disguised. Since everybody regarded as genuine the rosy glow cast by the inflation on economic conditions and especially on the labor market, wondering comments were often heard on the comparative ease with which war conditions could be liquidated.

One of the most interesting phenomena of that period was the fact that scientists, and especially the younger scholars, advanced theories concerning the economic situation in general, and especially financial theories, which contradicted all former doctrines. There was an inclination to believe

that the State could prescribe economic laws. Lulled into comparative contentment by such pseudo-science, large sections of the population at first hardly noticed the reduced purchasing power of their seemingly high wages. This was responsible for the fact that the struggle then raging within the Socialist parties over the issue "Democracy or Soviet" was decided in favor of democracy. This slogan gave the majority Socialists and the bourgeois parties of the Left a safe majority in the National Assembly.

If the armistice had been followed by a peace conference that would have awakened in the people faith in a just ending of the war, Germany would probably have been spared the inflation which resulted in a complete shift of wealth in favor of a few who profited by the inflation. For the reorganization of the budget, of taxation and of economic forces would then have come gradually. A stable government could also have been formed which—supported by its new authority—would have been in a position to bring about order. Unfortunately there came the dictated peace, which not only brought deep disappointment to those who, trusting in Wilson's promises, had favored a speedy armistice, but which also created terrible uncertainty, since it left the sum of German reparations absolutely unlimited.

At that time many people believed that precisely the utter unreasonableness of the unlimited demands of the Versailles verdict would protect Germany from unreasonable demands in the future. These people demanded that economic conditions and the German currency be put in order without regard to future requirements. They believed that every return to order would, in the last analysis, prove advantageous for Germany herself. But general sentiment was diametrically opposed to this view. Above all, Germany's economic strength was overestimated, and this

fallacy was encouraged abroad. Even as sensible and peace-loving a man as Matthias Erzberger declared it a mistake to put the finances in order, fearing that if foreign countries discovered Germany's real economic and financial strength expressed in terms of gold, reparation payments would be set at a monstrously high figure. Through a financial reform which put an end to the prevailing diversity of taxes and assessments under the various laws of the different German State Diets, Erzberger created the prerequisites to eventual restoration of order in Germany's financial system, but that work he did not trust himself to undertake, and advised against it.

The crushing effect of the Versailles verdict also created a feeling in economic circles which can be best expressed thus: "There is no longer any object in working, for the Entente has a lien on everything we possess and acquire, and it will all be taken away from us later." Thus, while the printing of paper money went merrily on, the political parties of extreme nationalism grew stronger and made difficulties for every government that tried to reach a reparations agreement with the Allies on a normal basis. All these factors are the roots of the present situation. They can now be accepted as historical facts.

The total burden of taxation in Germany in 1913 amounted to about 9 per cent of the national income. Today it is 20 per cent. This can, however, be discounted a trifle, since it is perhaps more difficult today to estimate the total income of the people than it was under orderly pre-war conditions. This taxation includes all the social liabilities of State insurance in so far as they affect the State budget. But the greater part of the contributions for old age, disability and sickness insurance, and, above all, for unemployment insurance, do not appear in the budget, for they are paid directly to the insurance bureau gen-

erally in equal contributions by employers and employees. If we include these sums, the result is an increase in taxes on total income from 11½ per cent in 1913 to about 27 or 28 per cent. The grand total of this taxation is estimated at about 19,500,000,000 marks in 1929.

A more graphic, though less accurate, picture is obtained from the estimates of direct taxes alone. No direct taxes whatever were collected by the government up to the introduction in 1913 of a special tax for national defense. The Reich was financed by receipts from customs duties and indirect taxes, while direct taxation of incomes and property was the main source of revenue for the States and municipalities. The States levied a graduated income tax and a tax on property, which was in reality a supplemental income tax, and the municipalities had a right to impose supplemental taxes on the income taxes assessed by the State. The amount of this supplemental tax varied from 97 to 300 per cent, according to whether the municipality had a wealthy or a labor population. The State income tax rose to a maximum of 4 per cent in the case of very large incomes. Only the possessor of an extraordinarily large income and a magnificent fortune had to pay as much as 10 per cent in direct taxes, including church taxes. Today the workingman deducts 8 per cent from his wages for taxes—the same man who used generally to be exempt from direct taxation. A medium-sized income is now taxed 20 per cent, a not especially high income of an entrepreneur 40 to 50 per cent.

These burdens rest upon a population whose structure has considerably changed from that of earlier days. It was not the war, not the revolution, but chiefly the inflation that destroyed the property of the entire middle class—the class that was Germany's strongest asset in peace times. There was, under the German Empire, to be sure, an increasing though very



modest number of millionaires, but the main part of the people's wealth was distributed among the great middle class, which, while converting a part of its income into capital, nevertheless spent a very considerable share of it on the comforts of life.

The growth of Germany's home consumption, due to a middle class thus situated, was the real secret of the nation's ability, before the war, to defeat almost all competition in the export trade. Goods which were regarded as luxuries in countries with a lower middle class standard of living could be manufactured in Germany in such great quantities that the costs of production for export were extraordinarily low. Much worse than the burdens of the war was the complete destruction of middle-class purchasing power through the inflation, which robbed Germany's domestic market of a strong support and also converted a contented element of the people into a proletariat easily subject to radical influences. As the main support for the home market the middle class has been replaced by the laboring population, clerical employes and civil servants.

Before the recent wage reductions the average maximum wage agreed upon was 54.12 marks a week for skilled laborers and 41.81 marks for unskilled laborers. Compared with pre-war days this is without doubt a very considerable increase. It is greatest in the case of the unskilled workers, who as a result of the revolution are today much more strongly organized than before. The purchasing power of these wages can be estimated by the cost of living index, which, at the end of October, 1930, was 145.4 (taking 1913 as 100), while the index for food alone was 139.5. Since then wages have been somewhat reduced, and the indices of general cost of living and foodstuffs have also dropped somewhat. But the methods of calculating these indices are sharply criticized by the labor population, and by many economic au-

thorities who assert that living is actually dearer than the indices show.

Nevertheless, the standard of living of the German workingman is undoubtedly higher than before the war. If all Germans who want work could find employment social conditions would be completely endurable. But that is just the trouble—unemployment has been increasing year by year for the past three years. Altogether, more than 3,000,000 persons are without employment this Winter, so that, in round numbers, almost 10,000,000 of the 65,000,000 inhabitants are living in abnormally straitened circumstances. Under these conditions unemployment insurance must be regarded not merely as a social burden but as an economic asset. Although the individual family's support from insurance and the dole may be small, conditions of consumption in Germany would be unbelievably worse without the total sum of relief payments which the unemployed can spend on the necessities of life.

Lack of sales is the chief reason for the present economic distress. To this situation can be applied the illustration of the snake which bites its own tail. It is no longer possible to judge whether the workers are without bread because the factories can sell nothing or whether the factories must close because so many workers are without bread. Undoubtedly the world crisis affects German conditions, but there is also a strong national German factor that is responsible in part for the crisis.

Directly after the inflation a strong discrepancy between productive capital and working capital showed itself in Germany. The flight from the steadily depreciating mark to goods of intrinsic value manifested itself in industry in the immediate employment of all incoming money for building expansion; that is, increase of productive capacity, increase of fixed capital. The first result of the deflation was a shortage of all liquid assets. The only recourse then was to bor-

row money abroad. If this money had been used to supplement the lack of working capital, Germany's economic life would probably have become slowly normal again. But a large part of the capital from abroad was used for the rationalizing of the enlarged plants.

From a technical standpoint, unprecedentedly perfect work was accomplished. At that time a craze for everything American was apparent in Germany. It was believed that in the technical improvement of the plants along American lines Germany had found the key to prosperity. But the fact was overlooked that American prosperity depended also on a large home market and unlimited possibilities of increasing turnover. The rationalizing process had temporarily a strongly revivifying effect on Germany's economic situation. This has been correctly termed an investment phase, for it was caused by the suddenly increasing demand for means of production for rationalization.

When the rationalizing had been completed the market was lacking. A rigid national cartel-agreement compelled the industrialists to limit their production in order to maintain prices. And thereupon it was discovered that rationalized operation, with its high fixed costs, is endlessly more expensive when production is limited than the operation of the highly organized plants of earlier days. Thus rationalization hastened the increase of unemployment in Germany and did not reduce the cost of most industrial products. This is the situation of the German business man, on whom falls most of the public burden.

The financial requirements of the Reich, States and municipalities amounted in 1913 to 7,250,000,000 marks. For the budget year 1929 these requirements were put at 16,900,000,000, of which about 4,000,000,000 goes for reparations and other expenses due to the war. Pensions and other war charges absorb about 1,750,000,000 marks. In 1924 the total amounted to

124 marks per capita, while today the figure is 340 marks. Apart from war burdens, the greatest part of the public expenditure goes for the salaries of civil servants, whose number has been tremendously increased by the complicated taxation laws. For the army and navy 700,000,000 marks was spent in the budget year 1929, compared with approximately 1,800,000,000 in 1913.

The cost of the small army and small navy is unusually high. In answer to sharp criticisms leveled by Germans at the army administration, the authorities replied that a mercenary army is naturally much more expensive than a conscripted army, since it costs relatively more for pay and maintenance, while in addition a relatively larger number of officers is needed, and, finally, a larger staff of officials is required to do things that in a conscripted army the soldiers do for themselves. The high cost is also ascribed to the terms of the peace treaty, which limits exportation of arms from Germany as well as the number of plants manufacturing them. Small production increases the price of material, and a few factories also take advantage of their monopoly.

Subtracting from the heavy budgets of the Federal Government, States and municipalities the cost of reparations and other war burdens, of the civil service and the army, there remains only a comparatively small sum which is flexible and offers opportunities for saving. Futile attempts were made in former years to achieve economies through negotiations between the political parties. The Bruening Government drastically reduced the budget by about 1,330,000,000 marks. Salaries of civil servants have been cut. A large number of expenditures necessary in themselves will not be made. This is undoubtedly a step toward a healthy budget, since at the same time the States have been put under pressure and many municipalities are compelled to exercise economy. But social

distress was immediately intensified as a result, for the reduction of civil servants' salaries not only meant a further reduction of German purchasing power but also furnished the officials with a grievance, which in itself explains the radical result of the recent elections.

A very radical election result was to be expected from the beginning. For 3,000,000 unemployed, alone, sent fifty Deputies to the Reichstag. And it was plain that most of these mandates would go either to the radical Communists on the Left or to the radical National Socialists on the Right. The great surprise was the tremendous increase of the National Socialist (Hitlerite) mandates from 12 to 107. This party owes its victory neither to its anti-Semitic nor to its nationalistic program, but in the main to its radical promises of reform, somewhat tinged with bolshevism. A large part of the bourgeoisie, quite apart from the nationalistic youth, voted the National Socialist ticket with the simple explanation that "for ten years our situation has been growing steadily worse. The National Socialist party is the only one that has heretofore had no chance to show what it can do. We will give it a chance." The elections of 1930 were elections of desperation.

Despite much opinion abroad to the contrary, these elections had nothing to do with the question, "Monarchy or Republic?" There is no doubt that the National Socialists are flirting with monarchist groups. Some imperial and other princes are members of the party, and there have even been rumors that the former Kaiser has contributed generously to its

campaign funds. It is definitely known that heads of other former ruling houses in Germany are supporting the party financially. But the chief aim of the National Socialists is rather to take advantage of all nationalist, including monarchist, sentiment, in order to gain a dominating position in the government. Many of the party's Deputies are republicans. The "third Reich" of which they speak is to be reorganized along social lines. They have no intention of deciding between the two rivals for a future throne—the Wittelsbacher in Munich and the Hohenzollerns at Doorn. There is at present no popular pretender to the German Crown.

Germany's future will depend on whether the attempt to untangle the economic situation succeeds. The cardinal problem of the immediate future is the creation of a market for German goods in order to pay reparations or else the revision of the reparation agreements which will so reduce the burdens that they can be borne even with a reduced export trade. But even this will not completely solve the problem. The solution depends chiefly on reducing unemployment by creating greater possibilities for marketing German products. But this raises the question: How long are the different European countries to remain cut off from each other by ever higher tariff walls? And here the question of Germany's fate merges with the European question. Europe must also follow America's example in a second respect. The first was in the imitation of American productive capacity. The second must be in the creation of a single broad European market.

# Safeguarding the Child in America

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By GRACE ABBOTT

*Chief of United States Children's Bureau*

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IN 1909 President Roosevelt assembled the first White House conference on the welfare of children. Ten years later at the request of President Wilson the United States Children's Bureau called a conference to formulate minimum standards for the health and welfare of American children, and ten years after that President Hoover appointed an organizing committee for a White House conference on child health and protection. During the months of preparation for this third conference, held on Nov. 19-22, 1930, the committees and sub-committees looked into the social history of the last two decades and attempted to formulate what had been done and what must still be done to bring American children the benefits of modern medicine, law and social science. A comparison of the conclusions reached by experts ten and twenty years ago with those formulated in 1930, illustrates certain general tendencies in child development and in services organized for children.

The general conclusions of the various committees were that the American child is healthier and better able to make successful individual and community adjustments, and that of those who are dependent upon the community for care and maintenance a much larger percentage have the opportunity for normal home life than they had ten or twenty years ago. While private agencies have increased in number and in the scientific charac-

ter of their work, the most significant expansions and improvements have been in the public services. A genuine interest in the education, health and social welfare of rural as well as urban children has resulted in a movement to enlarge the local administrative units so as to make possible the employment of trained local personnel and an efficient organization for co-operation with the State departments.

In many fields, neither the developing trends nor the gains that have been made can be shown concretely because the system of child accounting has been and is still far from adequate. Questions so fundamental as how many children were born, or how many died, during the past year cannot be answered for the whole country. But the number of States in the reporting area known as the "United States Birth Registration Area" has grown from ten in 1915 to forty-six in 1929—all except South Dakota and Texas. In this expanding registration area, there is evidence of a very encouraging reduction in the infant mortality rate. In 1910 the United States Census Bureau reported that in the ten States in what was then known as the "provisional registration area," 124 out of every 1,000 babies born died during the first year of life. In 1915 the rate for these ten States and the District of Columbia had been reduced to 100—99 for white infants and 181 for colored. In 1929, when the area included forty-six States and



the District of Columbia, the infant death rate for the area was 68—63 for white and 97 for colored babies. This means that during 1929 more than 122,000 babies survived the first year of life who would have died if the conditions of 1910 had prevailed.

But we have by no means reached an irreducible minimum in our infant death rate. Twenty-four States, as well as four of the twelve foreign countries, for which rates are available, have lower rates than the United States Birth Registration Area. In 1929 the five States having the lowest rates were Oregon 48, Washington 49, Minnesota 51, Nebraska 52 and Iowa 53 deaths per 1,000 births. At the other extreme, New Mexico had the high rate of 145, Arizona 133, Colorado 91, South Carolina 91 and Delaware 81.

Evidence of improvement in the general good health of children which should result from educational measures is not so easy to secure. The records now being assembled through the examinations of large numbers of children of various age groups and the progress being made in working out an index of general physical fitness will make possible in the near future much more definite statements.

Investigations made in this and other countries have shown that babies die when the family wage is low, when economic or social conditions in general are unfavorable, or when the food and general sanitation are poor. Much more frequently they die because of ignorance of the scientific care which will insure children not merely their survival but, more important, their optimum physical development. The progress that has been achieved in making available to parents opportunities for general and individual instruction in child care is therefore of the utmost value. For the education of parents, special organizations under the direction of experts in child health supplement the generalized public services for the protection of the health of both adults and chil-

dren. Twenty years ago infant welfare societies in some of our larger cities were demonstrating methods of interesting and instructing parents through what were then usually called "Well baby centres"; now instruction is given in child health centres or at conferences and in mothers' clubs and classes. The work of private agencies in this important field has greatly increased since 1910, but the increase in public agencies especially organized for this work is even more significant.

In 1908 the first public and official child health bureau in the United States was organized in the New York City Department of Health, under the direction of Dr. S. Josephine Baker. Since that time these organized bureaus have steadily increased in number and in efficiency. For example, the number of States with such organizations increased from one in 1910 to twenty-eight in 1920 and forty-seven in 1929. There is, however, great variation in the extent of the development. In the larger cities the division of child health is usually under a full time director assisted by a medical and nursing staff. In rural areas the work is usually carried on by one or two county nurses. A few of the more populous counties—Los Angeles County is a conspicuous example—have a complete organization with obstetricians and pediatricians employed for the prenatal, infant and child health centres, an adequate number of nurses for home visiting and demonstration, and psychiatrists for habit and conduct clinics. But in most of the local units trained personnel for the child-health work is lacking and the work is in consequence poorly done or greatly neglected. Nevertheless, the movement for public provision for the health of mothers and babies, greatly stimulated by a Federal subsidy from 1922 to 1929, may be said to be well under way.

The first White House conference was concerned especially with the problem of the prevention of dependency and the proper care of dependent

children. It did find, to be sure, that this problem was related to the health and general welfare of children, and it recommended the creation of a bureau to study and report upon these interrelated problems. But at that time it was generally believed that the solution of the problem of child delinquency was to be found in the juvenile court. The first juvenile court was 10 years old when this first conference met. With its establishment a revolutionary change in our conception of "justice" was enacted into law. The old conception was equality of treatment for the same offenses with same intent. Under the new legal theory of the juvenile court children are all treated alike only when they are all treated differently. The question is not, what should be done for particular types of offenses, but what should be done for individual children; the objective is cure, not punishment.

This is, however, a much more difficult theory to administer. Moreover, if the objective is cure, not punishment, we must make sure that the cure is successful. The attempt to prevent or cure delinquency among children has led to study of physical and mental defects of children, to investigation of their mental and personality problems, to examination of their environments for causes of maladjustment and to experiment in individual or group training during the pre-school period.

A review of the research of the last twenty years reveals the abandonment of one "cause" after another which was for a time believed to explain the delinquency of children. These years of research and experimentation have led to the individualized study of the causes of the maladjustment, unhappiness and delinquency of each particular child. The field of study includes not only the registered delinquent in the juvenile court but all types of conduct problems in the home and the school and the community. We have the beginnings of a new technique and of new

conceptions of treatment in this study of the individual child. But if the objective is a scientific approach to the conduct problems of the individual child, necessary resources are still lacking for the study and treatment of the great majority of children who pass through our courts and are committed to correctional institutions. Probation officers, physicians and psychiatrists attached to juvenile courts, child guidance clinics, visiting teachers, special schools for truants and classes in child training for parents are all a result of the effort to cure or to prevent delinquency.

Because of the gaps in our information, inaccurate and sensational statements about the increase of delinquency among the boys and girls of today are made. And yet it is not impossible to make a general statement as to the trends on the basis of the facts available. The United States Bureau of the Census has, over a period of years, usually once every ten years, assembled information as to the number of prisoners in the United States on a given date and the number committed during the year. Beginning with 1926, annual statistics of prisoners in Federal and State institutions have been published. Because of the inclusions or exclusions of local penal institutions and other differences, the decennial statistics are not all strictly comparable. Making allowances for these differences, however, and omitting those under 18 years of age, who are usually committed to special institutions, we find that of the total number of males committed, those from 18 to 20 years of age made up 10 per cent in 1904, 8.3 per cent in 1910 and 8.9 per cent in 1923.

This indicates a downward trend for this age group in our penal institution population. The census reports mentioned above included commitments to local as well as to State and Federal penal institutions. The 1926 census report was for State and Federal institutions only; in the commitments to these there was an increase

between 1923 and 1926 for each age group—greater for the 18 to 20 group than for the others—so that in 1926, 19 per cent of men and boys committed to Federal and State penal institutions were 18 to 20 years of age as compared with 16 per cent in 1923. In the local statistics of individual States the story is not very different. The Department of Correction of New York City reports that, in 1915, 18 per cent of offenders committed to the penal institutions of the city were 16 to 20 years of age, in 1916 this percentage fell to 14, and then climbed steadily until it reached 23 per cent in 1919; it dropped again in 1922 to 14 and has fluctuated only a fraction of 1 per cent above or below 14 from 1922 to 1928.

In so far as the total volume of delinquency among children can be measured by the number of children brought before the juvenile courts some conclusions are possible. The method of keeping juvenile court statistics has varied so greatly from city to city that they cannot be used for comparison between cities; but they can, with some allowance for changes in court policies, be used as a basis for measuring the increase or decrease of delinquency in the same city. Information based on annual reports of the courts is available for thirteen cities for the years 1915 to 1927, or for a considerable part of that period. In ten of these thirteen cities the delinquency ratio was lower for the last year reported, and in all but three of the ten the decline was significant.

The Children's Bureau has been promoting a plan for uniform juvenile court statistics, under which ninety-six courts reported in 1929. Even in these courts, with so many problems of classification and differences in court procedure to be worked out, the figures cannot yet be taken at their face value. In some courts, for example, the increase is so great as to indicate change in the policy of acceptance of complaints. Such evidence as there is, based on the annual

reports referred to above for the earlier period, indicates a general decrease from 1915 to 1927, and some increase in 1928 and 1929. Statistics are not available to make possible a comparison between 1929 and 1915.

As a result of years of practice in the treatment of dependency there is general agreement among social workers today that no child should be removed from his own home or from the custody of his own parents or parent because of poverty or illegitimacy alone. There is also general agreement that no child should be permanently separated from his family because of a condition necessitating temporary separation, and that care by relatives is, in general, to be preferred to care by strangers. In other words, social workers now accept as their first task the preservation of family ties, and social agencies are prepared to spend money in keeping the child and his family together rather than break up the family unit.

This apparently elementary policy has in fact worked a revolution in the social treatment of dependency. Money formerly available to care for children only away from their homes is now used to keep the homes intact.

During the last thirty years three official counts of the number of dependent and neglected children under care away from their own families have been made by the Bureau of the Census—in 1904, 1910 and 1923. From 1904 to 1910, the number of institutions increased 33 per cent; from 1910 to 1923, 9 per cent, and the number of children receiving this type of care increased 20 per cent from 1904 to 1910 and 10 per cent from 1910 to 1923. On the other hand, the agencies engaged in child placing not enumerated in the 1904 census increased 65 per cent from 1910 to 1923 and the number of children cared for in foster homes increased 62 per cent.

The most significant change is in the number of dependent children who are now cared for in their own homes. Legislation providing for "mothers'

pensions" or "allowances" or "assistance to parents' funds," first enacted in Illinois and Missouri in 1911, has now been enacted in forty-four States and in the District of Columbia. In the States enacting such legislation there has also been a steady growth in the total number of families aided, in the amount expended and in the number of counties giving this type of assistance. For example, in Wisconsin in 1913, aid was given to 187 families, and \$9,632 was expended in keeping children with their mothers; in 1918 the number of families had increased to 2,386 and the total expenditure to \$406,320; by 1928, 6,274 families were being assisted and the cost was \$1,533,900. Whereas in 1913 in Wisconsin, only five counties had taken advantage of the permissive mothers' pensions law, in 1928 all the counties (seventy-one) were using this method of care.

Wisconsin reflects rural conditions. The urban tendency is even more marked. In New York City, the mothers' aid expenditures have increased constantly since 1916, the first year the act was in operation. The \$165,000 expended that first year had grown to \$6,479,000 in 1929. It is estimated that at the present time New York City pays one-fifth of the total expenditure for home care of dependent children in the United States. The Children's Bureau has estimated that in 1923, when the number of children cared for in institutions was, according to the Census Bureau, 122,577 and the number in free or boarding homes was 69,400 (52,979 agency and 16,421 institutional placements), there were approximately 121,000 dependent children being cared for in their own homes out of public funds.

Present indications are that the task of the agencies and institutions in meeting the needs of the children who must be cared for away from their own homes will become increasingly difficult. The changing conditions under which families are broken up have changed the type of children

for whom care must be provided. As the general wage level has increased, as mothers' pensions and assistance to the family are more adequately developed, and as methods of enabling the surviving father as well as the surviving mother to keep the family together are worked out, children who must be cared for in institutions will come almost exclusively from homes presenting serious problems of demoralization or personality difficulties.

It should, however, be noted that while the general trend is to safeguard the family unit, the progress is not always constant. For example, at this moment the case-working standards of the family welfare agencies in many cities are practically suspended because of the widespread unemployment and the consequent emergency relief. Homes are being broken up that in other circumstances would be preserved. But in spite of these temporary lapses we look forward to increasingly prompt and efficient aid in the adjustment of family difficulties and the prevention of neglect.

While there is improvement in the health of children, in our understanding of the problems of delinquency and its prevention, in the methods used by the best institutions and agencies for the care of the neglected and dependent children, we must remember that a general change is only gradually effected. Many children suffer from preventable physical and emotional handicaps. Conditions which create delinquency are found in the home, the school and the community. Large numbers of children are still cared for in institutions in which they are unintelligently, not to say cruelly, treated, and children are still placed in free family homes to become little slaveys or the victims of men and women emotionally and otherwise unsuited for the responsibilities which they are given. But the trend is toward a scientific approach to all these problems and that is the basis for hope of greater progress in the next decade.



# Our President's Increasing Power

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By WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO

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FORTY years ago James Bryce spoke of the Presidency as the greatest office in the world, to which any one could rise by his own merits. Since then the powers of the President have grown appreciably. They have now expanded far beyond what the framers of the Constitution intended. Today this Presidential hegemony, this overpowering authority, seems to be the outstanding fact in American Government, as is demonstrated by the relative concern with which the country looked upon the outcome of the last Congressional elections. In any other government the election of a Legislature evenly divided between two major parties would presage a complete deadlock, with the probability that another election would have to be held within a short time to unloosen it. But in the United States such a legislative impasse does not stir the people to any uneasiness, because they know that the President, rather than Congress, is the pivot upon which the nation's government now revolves.

The newspapers of the country featured a dispatch from Washington, dated Nov. 24, 1930, which stated that President Hoover would soon announce his decision whether the income tax reduction of 1930 was to be continued for another year. Any one whose acquaintance extended only to the principles of American government, and not to its practice, might

have been surprised at such an announcement, for the Constitution gives the President no authority to decide what the nation's tax rates shall be. That power is expressly committed to Congress. But almost every day we get illustrations of the ever-widening gap that exists between what the Constitution says and what it means, especially as concerns the relations between the executive and legislative branches of the government.

In the beginning it was never intended that the President should become a dominating factor in the shaping of national policy. To make sure of this the framers of the Constitution placed rigid limitations upon every important power that they gave to the Chief Executive. They gave him the right to make appointments, but only with the confirmation of the Senate. They empowered him to conclude treaties, but stipulated that a two-thirds vote of the Senate should be required for ratification. They gave him the veto power, but provided that Executive vetoes might be overridden by a two-thirds vote in both houses of Congress. They made him Commander-in-Chief, but limited the duration for which army appropriations might be made. Not a single important prerogative did they give to the President without a string tied to it.

It is no wonder that the founding

fathers did this, for they had vividly in mind the experience of the American Colonies. They knew that the Colonial Governors had assumed an excess of authority. Consequently the earliest State Constitutions reduced the office of Governor to a mere cipher, as Madison said, and clothed the Legislatures with the predominance of power. People do not now realize the extent to which the ghosts of historical tyrants from Dionysius to George III haunted the old brick hall in Philadelphia during the torrid Summer of 1787. They flitted between the lines of every debate in the great convention. The Constitution was framed in an atmosphere surcharged with animus against personal authority in all its forms.

But the lapse of 143 years has shown the futility of mere paper checks upon the growth of Executive influence. The shackles have retarded, but have not prevented, the shifting of the centre of gravity from the Capitol to the White House. To some extent this has been accomplished by interpreting the Constitution differently from what its makers intended, but also to some extent by circumventing its provisions and by utilizing its silences. In the matter of appointments and treaties, for example, it was clearly intended that the President should seek the advice as well as the consent of the Senate. Decisions were to be reached by the huddle system, with the President acting as quarterback rather than as captain. But the Senate's advice, as every one knows, is never asked in advance, and Presidents frequently take umbrage when its consent is refused.

Repeated attempts, moreover, have been made by aggressive Presidents to evade the explicit limitations upon their appointing and treaty-making authority. They have done this by renewing recess appointments and by concluding international Executive agreements which have the effect of

treaties. Roosevelt gave several illustrations of what could be done in both directions. He kept officials in office for years despite the refusal of Senate confirmation. When the Senate balked at a treaty with Santo Domingo he gained his end by an Executive agreement. Wilson followed the same course in approving the famous Lansing-Ishii pact without submitting it to the Senate at all. These two Presidents demonstrated how simple the process of Executive usurpation can be made when a vigorous personality gives it momentum. If a strong-willed Chief Executive, for example, should decide upon adhesion to the World Court without Senatorial ratification and should join in the submission of a controversy to that tribunal it is by no means certain that he would find himself balked by the existing constitutional barriers.

Then there is the question of removals from office. The Constitution is silent on this matter. It provides that offices "shall be established by law," which apparently was presumed to mean that the laws would fix the term, salaries, duties and the methods of removing these officers. But as respects the power of removal (in the case of appointive officers other than judges) the President took it into his own hands, and the Supreme Court has supported him in this. The court has held that Congress cannot restrict the President's power to remove civil officers, even in the case of those who have been appointed with the Senate's concurrence. This is a most important enhancement of Presidential authority and one which carries it beyond the borders of Executive power in other countries.

The veto power affords an even better illustration. No other branch of Executive authority has been so widely explained beyond the original intent. The veto was given to the President as a weapon wherewith to protect himself against usurpations on the part of Congress. It was de-

signed to be an emergency weapon which Alexander Hamilton predicted would be "used with great caution." James Wilson was of the opinion that it would seldom be used in any case. And the first half dozen Presidents did use it most sparingly. During the initial forty years of the Republic only nine bills were vetoed, and in every case the veto was based upon some inherent defect in the measure, not upon the President's personal objection to it.

But Andrew Jackson interpreted the spirit of the veto power in a different way from his predecessors, and all subsequent Presidents have concurred in this view. They have distended the Executive veto into a general revisory power which virtually makes the Chief Executive a third chamber of Congress and entitles him to impose a suspensory negative on any measure that he deems inexpedient. It was taken for granted in 1787 that if the President ever used his veto imprudently a two-thirds vote in both houses would override it. But this assumption did not reckon with the growth of the party system, a development which made the habitual overriding of Executive vetoes a much more difficult matter than it was originally expected to be.

In general, then, the Presidency has been loosening the strings which were tied to it by the statesmen of 1787. It has lost none of its original powers. On the contrary, its prerogatives and influence have been greatly enhanced during the intervening years, not steadily, of course, but by fits and starts. Every vigorous President has pushed them up a notch or two, and there they have stayed. Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, Roosevelt and Wilson have been outstanding figures in this accentuation of Presidential leadership. But personalities in the White House could not have accomplished all this without the aid of powerful factors of reinforcement from outside.

One of these factors has been the change in the methods whereby the

Chief Executive is chosen. The last thing that the framers of the Constitution intended the Presidency to be was a popular institution. They talked a good deal about "checks and balances," but they did not really have it in mind that the President would be independent of Congress and a counterpoise to that body. They provided for his selection by Presidential electors, it is true; but no one in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 seemed to feel that a President would be chosen by these electors save on rare occasions. Their belief was that in the normal course of events many names would be proposed and voted on by the electors, with the result that no one would get a clear majority. Then the election would be thrown into the House of Representatives, which would make the choice from among the five highest nominees. This, they felt, would be the normal procedure.

Colonel George Mason of Virginia predicted on the floor of the convention that not once in twenty elections would any Presidential candidate obtain a clear majority of the electoral vote. His fellow-delegates from the smaller States were so convinced of this likelihood that they insisted upon a provision requiring the House to vote by States, each State having one vote, in deciding the choice. The Presidential electors, it was generally assumed, would merely suggest five nominees and the House would regularly make the final decision. Thus the President, as the choice of the larger branch of Congress, would be kept close to that body and in a measure dependent upon it. Hamilton argued in *The Federalist* that this "ultimate though contingent" power of electing the President would greatly enhance the influence of the House.

But the rapid growth of the party system soon threw all these plans and prophecies askew. The emergence of two major parties, with their nominating conventions and their pledging of the electors in advance, has made

it virtually certain that one of the two major candidates will obtain a clear majority of the electors. Accordingly, the House of Representatives never obtains a chance to do the electing except on the rarest occasions, when the two-party system fails to function. It has had no such opportunity for more than a hundred years.

Mason's prediction, as a matter of history, has been exactly reversed. The President is to all intents chosen by the people, and the electors have become mere automatons for registering the popular will. This means that the President holds a mandate from the nation, not from the electors or from Congress, and his position in relation to the legislative branch of the government has been greatly strengthened thereby. The White House has become the biggest pulpit in the country. When the President desires to rally the people on his side in any controversy with Congress he has an enormous advantage in doing it, for he is the elect of the whole people, while Congressmen represent only the States and the people of the States. This right of the President to appeal unto Caesar was freely utilized by Roosevelt and Wilson. To a smaller extent Coolidge also made use of it, although in a less assertive and more adroit way.

Incidentally the radio has greatly strengthened the hands of any President who wants to put pressure on Congress. He is no longer dependent upon the Washington correspondents for a vigorous presentation of his side of the case. He can reach millions of voters any day by means of a national hook-up and can exercise his full powers of direct persuasion. Congress, on the other hand, has no such facilities for talking back. Its leaders may try it, but the result is likely to be a babel of voices, and not one voter in a hundred will listen in.

We should follow Machiavelli's advice to the extent of regarding the

facts rather than the fictions of a government. The actualities of power in the case of the President are not to be found by reading the Federal Constitution. For example, the Constitution contains no hint that the President would be the national leader of his party, generally recognized as such, and entitled to sound the tocsin of party allegiance at any time. Nothing could have been further from the minds of Washington, Madison and the other leaders of the constitutional group than that Senators or Representatives should be called "insurgents" because they failed to support administrative measures in Congress. Such an idea would have been thoroughly repugnant to men who looked upon party organization and party allegiance as cankers in the body of the commonwealth.

The great and fundamental weakness of the American political system is that it makes no definite provision for authoritative leadership within the ranks of legislative bodies themselves. In European countries this leadership is provided by Prime Ministers and Chancellors. The framers of the American Constitution seem to have assumed that Congress would lead itself, but such is a self-evident impossibility in a body which has now grown to be so large. "We have in this country no real leadership," said Woodrow Wilson, "because no man is allowed to direct the course of Congress, and there is no way of governing the country except through Congress." Hence Presidential intervention in lawmaking has become essential as the only alternative to chaos. Presidents have wielded the whip not from choice but from necessity. Congress resents their executive intrusion, as is natural, but one may safely predict that it will continue and will become even more assertive as time goes on.

It is often said that a President's



relations with Congress are determined for the most part by his own personality. But that is not the whole story or half of it. These relations are determined in a much larger degree by the times and the problems. Most of our governmental problems are economic, not political. Hence, when the country is passing through an era of abounding economic prosperity and industrial expansion it requires neither vision nor vigor for a Chief Executive to satisfy both Congress and the country. Calvin Coolidge was the beneficiary of such an interlude. His chief claim upon the homage of posterity is that he sensed the current and sat tight. Incidentally he knew the art of timely exodus, as the course of events during the past two years has shown.

To be a conspicuous success as the nation's Chief Executive during a period of business depression is an

infinitely more difficult task. Prosperity stifles criticism, while depression stimulates it. In politics the average man is much readier to express (and to vote) his resentment than his appreciation. Moreover he holds the President rather than Congress responsible for his own troubles when they come. It would be hard to find in any country a leader more thoroughly equipped by personal qualifications and by experience for piloting his people through an economic emergency than President Hoover is. Yet the newspapers tell us that his hold on the country has slipped considerably during the past two years. He would be a superman if it had not. But let the thoughtful citizen inquire how Presidents and Prime Ministers have been faring in other countries during this same interval. The answer to that question would be interesting.

## The Injunction Process in Labor Disputes

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By WAYNE GARD

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**A**MONG the most important items of legislation pending in the present Congress is Senate bill 2,497, "to define and limit the jurisdiction of courts sitting in equity," commonly referred to as the anti-injunction bill. Although its official title sounds mild, this bill, in various versions, has been the subject of spirited hearings for three years. It represents unfulfilled promises made by both the major political parties, and on its fate hinges one of the most controverted American labor problems of a generation.

People commonly fail to realize that the powers of the courts are not limited to the interpretation and application of law. The Constitution gives the courts jurisdiction in cases of equity as well as of law. Equity, or the application of right and justice to the legal adjustment of differences where the law is deficient, covers the power of Federal and State courts to grant injunctions. The injunction is based upon English precedent which goes back at least to King Richard's reign. The King, and later his Chancellor, exercised the right to forbid certain

acts and thus prevent an injury instead of punishing the aggressor after the damage was done. In its early stages this power was used infrequently, and mainly in the elimination of such nuisances as might arise from noise made by actors or musicians, and later in the protection of property. The power of enjoining, now exercised by the courts, has been broadened gradually to include a great variety of restraints.

Injunctions are commonly granted, for instance, to prevent the infringement of patent rights, the wasting of property held in trust, or the violation of business contracts. Against such injunctions no movement has arisen. Yet the granting and enforcement of certain kinds of injunctions in labor disputes has led to intense bitterness and to a widespread demand for legislative restraint upon the courts. The labor injunction, however, is distinctly American. In England, where labor unions are looked upon with more favor than here—and where the boycott, secondary as well as primary, and even the blacklist are fully legal—the courts do not ordinarily grant injunctions in labor disputes. The only two notable British labor injunctions were annulled, one by a decree of the Chancellor and the other, the Taff Vale railway case, by an act of Parliament, the trade disputes act of 1906.

It is impossible to determine the extent to which the labor injunction has grown, since many injunctions are not reported officially, and some are not even mentioned in the records of the individual courts. An inquiry by George Wharton Pepper, former Senator, showed that during the railway shopmen's strike of 1922 every one of almost 300 injunctions asked for by the railroads was granted, but that only twelve were reported. Often temporary restraining orders are issued without giving the enjoined persons any notice or any chance to be heard; at all injunction hearings, the judge acts without a jury; and violations of

injunctions are punished as contempt of court. In contempt proceedings, the defendants are tried by the judge who issued the injunction—again without jury, except in a small class of cases—and if found guilty are fined or sentenced to jail.

In many instances labor injunctions are expressed in sweeping terms and make use of undefined words, such as "conspiring," "intimidating" and "picketing," whose meaning is controversial even in the courts. Such orders commonly bind not only the persons named but others as well. In 1926, for example, a Federal district court granted the Indianapolis Street Railway Company a temporary injunction against not only the defendants named, but also "each and every person having knowledge of the existence of this order." Many injunctions are even broader; in the often cited case of the American Foundries against the Tri-City Central Trades Council in 1921, the Supreme Court of the United States allowed a clause to stand enjoining "all persons whomsoever," and similar phrases appear in other injunctions issued by Federal courts.

Court orders of this type often ban not only criminal acts—which, it is argued, should not require injunctions—but also acts which violate no law. These prohibitions ordinarily are made on the ground of preventing interference with the complainant's business. In 1924, in the Reed-Whiteman case, a New York court granted an injunction restraining the defendants from visiting the homes of the plaintiff's workers to try to persuade them to leave their employment. This clause was modified by the Court of Appeals, but the modified decree contained other drastic prohibitions, including one against "parading or marching in crowds of more than two in number within one-half mile of the premises of the plaintiff."

Other injunctions have proscribed praying on the roadsides and singing in groups and have prevented free

communication and the holding of meetings. In 1927 a Pennsylvania judge granted the Clearfield Bituminous Coal Corporation an injunction restraining the defendants from singing hymns on a church lot located about 1,500 feet from a place which strike-breakers passed on their way to and from the mines. In the same year a Federal judge in Southern Ohio gave the Clarkson Coal Mining Company an injunction against the United Mine Workers of America. His decree imposed various restrictions upon picketing, including one which required that "each picket shall be a citizen of the United States and shall be able to speak the English language." The significance of this clause may be realized when it is understood that about 90 per cent of the workers in these mines were foreigners, many of them unable to speak English, and that the strike-breakers whom the pickets wished to influence were largely foreigners brought in from Detroit and elsewhere.

Some injunctions have gone so far as to prohibit labor unions from paying benefits to strikers from funds built up with contributions which these workers have made for just such emergencies. In repeated instances all persons, whether members of a union or not, have been enjoined from giving any assistance to strikers; in such cases the feeding of hungry women and children may become contempt of court.

Theoretically, injunctions prohibit only illegal acts which threaten irreparable injury to the plaintiff and for which no pecuniary compensation is possible. It must be shown that the plaintiff comes with clean hands and that he has no adequate remedy at law. Furthermore, it is assumed that injunctions are not used to punish crime or to curtail personal rights. In practice, however, these qualifications tend to become a mere formula in the plaintiff's petition; in case after case, judges have issued restraining orders with such pertinent circum-

stances unproved and uninvestigated. Occasionally a judge refuses or modifies a labor injunction asked for, but not often.

In practice, too, a temporary injunction, issued hurriedly on the basis of the plaintiff's affidavits, has the effect of a permanent one. Many strikes last only a few weeks, and often they are ended before the petition for a permanent injunction is passed upon. In one recent case an injunction in a Pennsylvania coal strike was effective for six months without any hearing being given to the strikers. When workers learn, after the termination of their strike, that the "temporary" injunction against them was issued erroneously, they are likely to be irritated rather than consoled.

Labor's outcry against the injunction has been persistent and bitter. Objection has been made to the common practice of the courts in classifying business as property and to the frequent disregard of the limitations which theoretically apply to the granting of injunctions. The unions protest also that the courts discriminate against workers in disarming them of their only effective weapons, the strike and the boycott, while making no effort to curb the corresponding weapons of the employer, the blacklist and the lockout. Moreover, the unions believe it unreasonable for the courts to prohibit labor boycotts while allowing others to be carried on by business organizations.

Labor representatives object also to what they term the "czardom" of the courts, or their usurpation of the legislative and executive functions of government. They resent the issuing of temporary injunctions without giving the defendants a hearing and the procedure by which, in enforcing injunctions, the judge acts not only as judge but also as prosecutor and as jury. They point out that such procedure places the defendant in an almost helpless position. Another serious objection of labor is that the issuing of injunctions often leads to the defen-

dants' loss of constitutional rights. Union leaders hold that many injunctions invade the constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech, of assembly, and of the press. They cite injunctions in which officers of labor unions are forbidden to issue instructions, and in which the defendants are ordered to make no mention of the existence of a labor dispute. In such a situation, a defendant cannot even consult a lawyer without violating the injunction and thus becoming punishable for contempt of court.

It is held also that the enforcement of injunctions deprives the defendants, in many cases, of the constitutional right of trial by jury. While in theory the injunction is no substitute for criminal law, in practice violators of injunctions often are subjected to fine or imprisonment without the safeguard of jury trial. This procedure, it is contended, opens the way for tyranny and the miscarriage of justice.

What most embitters labor forces against the injunction is that such a court order tends—as they believe is the aim of the plaintiff—to break down the morale of strikers, to brand them as outlaws, and to turn public sympathy against them. Thus the injunction leads many workers to look upon the courts as willing tools of the employers, and it seriously undermines their faith in American justice. Instead of solving labor disputes it tends to aggravate them and to become an incentive to disorder and violence.

From the early stages of its operation the uncurbed labor injunction has brought calls for legislative relief, calls not only from the unions but also from other groups and individuals concerned with the public weal. In 1896 "government by injunction" became a campaign phrase of the Democratic party, whose platform approved an anti-injunction bill then pending in Congress, and stated: "We denounce arbitrary interference by Federal authorities in local affairs as a violation of the Constitution of

the United States and a crime against free institutions, and we especially object to government by injunction as a new and highly dangerous form of oppression by which Federal judges, in contempt of the laws of the States and rights of citizens, become at once legislators, judges and executioners."

President Roosevelt in five successive messages called the attention of Congress to the need for adequate legislation to remedy the abuse of the injunctive power in labor disputes. The Republican party recognized, in its 1908 platform, the defects in the procedure leading to injunctions. Taft, both in his address accepting the Presidential nomination and in his first annual message to Congress, favored restrictions upon the issuing of injunctions. Twelve bills were introduced in the first Congress of his administration, but not one of them was reported out of committee.

Almost innumerable bills aiming to give relief from the abuses common to labor injunctions have been introduced in State Legislatures and in Congress. These bills have attacked the injunction from many angles, but even when enacted have been alike in their futility. The greater effort has been spent in seeking Federal legislation, since the most objectionable injunctions have come from the Federal courts. The Clayton act of 1914 sought to establish clearly the legality of labor unions, to exempt them from legislation against trusts, to forbid the issuing of injunctions against strikes, peaceful persuasion, payment of strike benefits and peaceful assembly, and to confer—within certain limits—the right of trial by jury for contempt of court. But the Clayton act, the result of twenty years of effort, has become the greatest disappointment in the history of labor legislation in America. Its vague terms allowed the courts to circumvent and nullify its anti-injunction provisions in almost every detail. Judged from what has followed, the act has been an incentive to labor in-



junctions instead of a curb, for the restraint of the activities of organized labor by injunction has become more common and more drastic since 1914.

By 1928 the futility of the Clayton act was fully demonstrated and labor succeeded in getting injunction planks into the platforms of both major parties again.

The promises made in these platforms remain unfulfilled. The only step taken toward their execution has been the introduction into Congress of Senate bill 2,497, now pending. This bill was prepared by members of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, with the assistance of noted lawyers and professors of law, as a substitute for a bill of similar purpose which Senator Henrik Shipstead of Minnesota first introduced in 1927. In its present form the bill defines the public policy of the United States toward labor organizations; declares unenforceable the "yellow dog" contract, by which workers who join a union lose their jobs; prohibits the issuing of Federal injunctions against striking, joining a union, paying strike benefits, aiding strikers, giving publicity to labor disputes, or peaceably assembling; limits the liability of union officers, restricts in various ways the procedure of Federal courts in granting injunctions in labor disputes, and extends the right of trial by jury on charges of contempt of court.

The first formal action of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary on this bill resulted in seven votes for the bill and seven against it, with three members not voting. Later, however, the committee voted, by a majority of one, to report the bill adversely. The majority report of the committee, while admitting that labor injunctions needed to be curbed, expressed the opinion that the bill's statement of public policy invaded the prerogative of the States in making "yellow dog" contracts unenforceable.

Furthermore, certain kinds of strikes, it was maintained, were illegal and were properly restrained by injunction. As the bill would weaken the law of agency, impose drastic restrictions on procedure, protect fraud, threats and violence, place restrictions of doubtful constitutionality upon trials for contempt of court and destroy equality before the law, the necessity for such legislation was not urgent. The minority report, signed by Senators Norris, chairman, Blaine, Walsh of Montana, Borah, Caraway, Ashurst and Dill, supported the general arguments made against the labor injunction and held that the bill was constitutional and that its enactment was essential to the correction of injunctive abuses.

The controversy which this bill brings to a head involves not only labor disputes but broad questions of justice and of the stability of political institutions. The danger of allowing a large section of the population to believe that the courts are unjust, partisan bodies mobilized against them is pointed to as a strong argument against the labor injunction. The forces of social destruction naturally work upon people already discontented, and investigators have reported that misuse of the injunction is fostering disaffection among labor groups to a startling extent. "I know of no procedure in America," declares President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, "that is fanning the flame of discontent to a greater degree than this misuse of the equity power." Not all the warnings have come from labor leaders. As far back as 1924 George Wharton Pepper addressed the American Bar Association on "the growing bitterness of organized labor toward the Federal courts," a bitterness "which, if unchecked, may easily develop into a revolutionary sentiment." Advocates of anti-injunction legislation believe that this situation is one which the nation can ill afford to ignore.

# Child Welfare in Soviet Russia

By VERA EDELSTADT

THE realization of socialism, the ultimate goal of Soviet Russia, can be achieved only by rearing Soviet children in a spirit of collectivism. This country, whose whole ambition is for the future, stakes her great hopes on her children.

Visiting recently in the Crimea, we were returning from an open-air concert along a woody, moonlit road, when suddenly an urchin of 12, a ragged *bezprizorni*, jumped on the running board of our carriage and addressed us indignantly: "Is this what *we* spilled our blood for, that you may ride in carriages?" Then, as a friend called to him from the road, "Oh, I beg your pardon; perhaps you are the artists from the concert; in that case I wish you a happy journey."

This feeling of "we" is not accidental. A Russian child today is made to feel that he shares in a great undertaking. At a performance by the young "Pioneers," boys and girls from 10 to 16 years old, in a theatre in the children's village, formerly the Czar's Summer palace, were the children of workers and peasants watching the dramatic abilities of these other children. At the end several men addressed the group. As they explained to the children the nature of capitalistic war and its horrors there was not the slightest taint of condescension in their attitude. Their vocabularies were not elaborate, but their voices were sincere. The children, urged to join in the great national anti-war demonstration, listened as in-

tently as would any mature audience.

After the speeches the chairman, a young man of about 20, a *Comsomol*, rose and called on his comrades for their pledge. As a single body the poorly dressed children jumped from the silk-brocaded seats. To the *Boodj Gatov!* (Be Ready!) came the thundered chorus of *Vsyegda Gatov!* (Always Ready!)—hands quivering in salute, voices colored with the consciousness of the significant words they uttered.

It is this awareness of the social program as a whole that gives the Russian child today a feeling of responsibility and of genuine cooperation in a movement. In the railroad employes' park at Tsixoretsk, a dusty hamlet on the steppe, the writer met a group of children who eagerly showed their clubrooms. They pointed out "Our theatre," "Our library," "Our newspaper." They took a newspaper from the wall and presented it to be displayed in America. It was a large, hand-printed affair, with news, poems and general information, written and amusingly illustrated by the children. "All is ours—for us—the workers' children. It is not as in other countries where everything is for the rich. We are workers' children, and we shall be workers soon, too." They feel that they are playing an important part in the great drama which is being enacted on the vast Russian stage. They also insisted that the Americans visit the monthly meeting of the village Soviet, and although their parents

were there, the children were not shy.

Government has been made a simple and living thing for these children. A magazine for the very young, with contributions by its readers, recently published a characteristic story, copiously illustrated. Piotr, organizing the children of his yard into a soviet, was the hero; he had made life more peaceful and far more fun. The picture of 5-year-old Piotr, on a box, exhorting his comrades to unite for the common weal, seems perfectly natural to a Russian child.

Socialism and the worship of Lenin are taught to the youngest infants. Portraits of Lenin decorate school-rooms and public nurseries. In Kiev, in an orthopedic hospital, money for which was set aside during the worst of the famine and fighting, there are in every room fresh cut flowers, bright paper flags, pictures, and always—a portrait of Lenin.

In a room of handsome proportions children up to 6 years of age are confined in their beds with tuberculosis of the bone. A nurse distributed tambourines, cymbals and castanets; a teacher at the piano began to play and the orchestra struck up. They played and sang Ukrainian folksongs with rhythm and feeling, then finally broke into the *Internationale*. For these 250 patients there were eleven teachers devoting their entire time to instruction and amusement. An Eskimo village made of hospital plaster, pencil sketches, baskets and other examples of the children's handiwork filled a little museum in the lobby. When the head of the institution went to Germany to buy equipment he returned with the best instruments and the most beautiful rose bushes he could find. The rose garden was a feast of color outside the balconies where the bronzed bodies were being sunned.

The assistant physician was himself a cripple; a crippled woman interne who studied at this hospital for three years went back to her own district of Vinetza to open an orthopedic department in the hospital there. A

number of such hospitals have been opened by new Russia for her children, and the need is still great. Money recently granted to the Kiev hospital for the repair of buildings had to be used instead for enlargement.

In Kiev there is also a Roentgen station, housed in a former mansion once in ruins, which for 40,000 rubles had been put in condition; today 300 children, twelve hours a day, receive here their meals and the most modern treatment. In an aluminum-lined room children with rickets lie in the curative rays of special lamps; those with scalp diseases or tuberculosis are treated in hygienic and cheerful surroundings.

At Poshjavoditza, in a special sanatorium, anemic and early tubercular children are cared for. There are playgrounds, an open-air theatre for performances by visiting companies, a quaint Dutch dining room, special houses for X-ray, physiotherapy and mineral baths. A hundred and fifty children have twelve doctors and fourteen teachers to take care of them. These children are conscious that they are children of workers and peasants and that the government is especially interested in them. Their illustrated newspaper on the wall in the library showed as wide interest in politics as in the news of their own group.

The children feel their duty to this government. When the swollen waters of the Tzerek flooded the proletarian park at Vladikavkaz it was the pioneers and the *Comsomols* who were first on the scene to restore it. Frequent emergencies have taught them how to work in organized groups for the common good.

The young people are conscious of their rights as well as of their duties. A boy of 19 waited his turn to see an official of the steamship line at Novorossaysk about a rebate on a ticket for which he had been overcharged by mistake. The official, who had seen him twice before, had told him each time to come back later. The elderly

man was now brusque with the boy. "There is nothing yet; come back next week," he said—trying to dismiss the boy with a wave of his hand. The boy was polite but firm. "Those manners don't go today, comrade. I shall come back just once more; but if you don't attend to the matter then, I shall report you because you are not doing your job efficiently." And the official knows that such reports are considered at the semi-annual "house-cleaning," when his job may be at stake.

In the Summer the whole vast area of the Soviet Union is alive with children traveling. Groups are organized in the schools and special arrangements are made to visit many places of interest. They fill the 500 or more museums, and lines of visitors wait at the doors. The peace of one such line was disturbed one day when several foreigners asked the doorman to be admitted without waiting. Cries rose from the line: "What kind of favoritism is this? Those days are gone! We all take our turn!" The doorman came out and explained to the "comrades" that these were foreigners whose only opportunity to visit the gallery depended on their going in at that time. The explanation was accepted and the visitors were given preference.

A group of peasant boys was taken through the Museum of the Ukraine, an agricultural museum exhibiting various new farm machines and labor-saving devices, electrically run miniature models of different factories in full operation, crop displays. There was a poster saying, "Don't pray for rain, dig irrigation ditches," and then followed cases of different types of grain for varying soil conditions, showing the length of root, the yield per acre, the flour and bread they would make, possible plant diseases and the cures, valuable herbs to raise for medicinal purposes. Followed a room full of trays where live silk worms were feeding on different types of leaves, with a specialist showing how to care for them; then displays dem-

onstrating the whole process of silk-making, of cotton and sugar, of tobacco and porcelain—and in each room a portrait of Lenin made of the material on display.

There are also special agricultural schools. One, in the Crimea, had once been the palatial residence of a noble. The gardens, on a green cliff overhanging the Black Sea, flowered in all their former magnificence, as the laboratory of the school. Here Tartar boys, 14 years old, study for three years to become assistant agriculturists. In the Winter they are given general education in combination with the theoretical side of agriculture. In the Summer they work in the gardens. They work all day, frequently diving into the sea, and coming back refreshed to their work. They are fed and lodged by the school; they pay no tuition, for they are builders of the future.

For the children of pre-school age whose parents work in fields or factories, there are kindergartens and nurseries. Before the revolution these existed only in towns and totaled some 300; in 1925 there were nearly 1,200 scattered throughout Russia.

Russia's work with delinquent children is as interesting as her experiments in education. *Mano* is a juvenile court in Moscow. In a small, bare room a man in a black peasant blouse, toothless, sat before a table listening to two women arguing back and forth from either side of him. Occasionally he interrupted to clear up a point; the voice was cultured and mellow. The judge was talking over the next case with two probation officers. After much informal discussion a boy of 12 came in with his mother. She sat down, friendly and at ease; the boy stood before the gray-haired man and was told that for stealing a tool and keeping bad company he could not go to camp with his Pioneer group. The time for camp was at hand; the judge now questioned him about his recent behavior; he told him that if he continued his good be-



havior he could go to camp. Later the court explained that the boy would be given special attention at camp to mold him correctly. There was no feeling of a judge protecting society's property, but rather of a wise parent trying earnestly to form a character.

Another boy of the same age, also at his ease, the judge questioned simply: "How many times have you been here before?" "I don't remember." "About six?" "More, I guess." "And why do they bring you?" "Because I steal." "Can't you stop stealing?" "No, I'm used to it; I have the habit." "But I'm going to send you away now." "That's all right; I'll run away." The boy went out into the next room and waited to be taken away to a school. On previous occasions the boy had been examined in various laboratories, given physical and mental tests. It was determined that he was mentally subnormal and should be sent to a school for "mental delinquents." There are different schools for "delinquents with criminal tendencies" and for "normal but legal offenders"; yet practically all are located in Summer camps and their work is constructive rather than punitive.

Much of the reform in the Soviet Union is due in no small measure to the young people, who, informed as to the ideal, are keenly critical of the performance. Their criticism is taken seriously. They may take good-humoredly the inefficiency of a transition period, but they make every effort to help improve the working of the great machine on which they have pinned their faith. *Nichevo* ("it doesn't matter; it can't be helped"), that word so characteristic of the old type of Russian, is being stricken from the vocabulary. They know that it does matter and that it can be helped. The young Russian, with the automobile and the airplane, knows that space can be conquered; with the telephone, the radio, he knows that time can be conquered. He believes he has a vehicle to carry him to his goal—the machine will be his ally.

There can be no doubt that the youth of today is already worlds apart from the oversensitized, introspective youth of Turgenev's tales. The regional secretary of the *Comsomols* sat at a plain desk with his papers before him in orderly piles. He looked at the Americans before him, his interest solely in what they had come to him for. They presented a letter of recommendation from the Bureau of Cultural Relations, *Vox*, asking that the visitors be extended every courtesy; he showed no sign of unbending until he found the seal of authority on the last page. That was the only prestige he recognized. He was not the kind but blundering provincial that Cherkhov knew so well; he was efficiency and the hardness of assurance.

Standing in Red Square and watching the endless mass of Russian youth file by in demonstration, one feels that this is no blind horde but an assertive host of crusaders. It is great forces under control; and reinforcements lie in a giant network over all the Russias. Throughout the whole vast country that program of education is being spread to inspire and develop young Communists.

In Kiev there was another phase of the contrast between the old and the new generations. On the day of the Holy Trinity, hundreds of old peasants, pilgrims from afar, were dragging themselves to the Lavra, that famous monastery. There they knelt on the rushes in the gorgeous church, gazing with awe at the silver-bearded priest before the altar of beaten gold and silver, dazzled by his golden crown and jeweled robes, by the magnificent medallion aglitter with diamonds and rubies. Their weary faces relaxed under the caress of incense and the deep resonance of the choir. Outside the shadows of the great bronze doors, in the sunny courtyard, lines of young boys and girls were waiting for their turn to enter the church opposite, now an anti-religious museum.

Here the rooms were full of relics of all religions, beautiful stained-glass

windows and hair shirts, horned masks and sacred scrolls. From this collection the children passed on to a gallery of posters: a fat bourgeois riding a golden cross carried on the bent backs of the masses, a rabbi holding the sacred Torah over a successful manufacturer as he stands on a mountain of workers, an obese Buddha set on top of crushed men and women and distilling from their blood gold for the rich, militarism hand in hand with the Church that is sanctifying the merciless slaughter of the proletariat to satisfy the greed of capitalists. These posters are the best paid form of art in new Russia; the leaders, knowing their power as instruments of propaganda, value them highly. From this atmosphere of destructive criticism the visitors entered another gallery of posters showing the story of creation in contradiction to the Bible story. Here was the history of the earth in the stellar system, history of man in evolution—pictures of amoeba, ape and prehistoric man, and then man's own rich history.

Russia has developed a school of visual education admirably suited to teaching her vast population of illiterates. By posters she teaches lessons in health and temperance, in safety, in accuracy and speed. Since they are decorative as well as informative, they are popular hangings for the walls of

all types of public buildings in Russia.

The "Museums of Revolution" scattered throughout the Soviet Union present another phase of this system of visual education. The one in Moscow is housed in what was once an English club. The foyer belongs to Stenka Razin and his daring as immortalized by painters and sculptors through the centuries. There are rooms full of pictures and photographs of famous revolutionists—Pugachov, Bakunin, Chernyshevsky, Vera Figner, Sophia Perovskaia, Vera Zasulich, men and women, side by side. There are displays of the ugly instruments of torture used on them in the prisons, an actual model of a prison cell. Then follow examples of the work carried on in the face of all dangers—the picture of a young woman revolutionist in a peasant's hut, teaching them to read at the risk of her life; little printing-presses and the pamphlets and newspapers that were printed in them "underground," an immense painting of "Red Sunday" (1905), with hundreds of unarmed petitioners being mowed down by the Czar's guard.

The Russia of today still faces the challenge of an opposing world. But the ultimate success of all these efforts will rest on the ability of a new generation to maintain a "wartime psychology" through the humdrum years.

# The Franco-British Plot to Dismember Russia

By LEONID I. STRAKHOVSKY\*

A CAREFUL study of the latest and most authoritative documents dealing with the allied intervention in Russia in 1917-1920 reveals the startling designs of Great Britain and France to bring about the complete dismemberment of the Russian realm for their own political and commercial advantage. There exists a considerable amount of literature on the civil war in Russia and the allied intervention, much of it in Russian, but most of these publications have a definitely expressed political purpose, either in the form of apology for bolshevism or as anti-Bolshevik propaganda. However, a limited number of these publications deal with the subject of the 1917 intervention more or less objectively and present suitable material for a historical study. Unfortunately neither Great Britain nor France has as yet published any important documents relating to this period.

When the Russian Revolution occurred in March, 1917, all the allied governments seemed to be sympathetic and to cherish hopes that Russia would now reaffirm its partnership in the common cause with the democratic countries of France and

Great Britain against autocratic and reactionary Germany and Austria-Hungary. But when the famous Order No. 1 was issued, destroying the organization and discipline of the Russian Army, most of the military specialists in the allied countries began to doubt the effectiveness of the Russian revolution in so far as it would affect an Entente victory over the Central Powers. Later, when the Bolsheviks overthrew the provisional government in November, 1917, and Russia obviously was no longer any help to the Allies, not only military specialists but also political leaders lost faith in Russia as an effective ally.

In these circumstances the allied governments were ready to undertake open military intervention in Russia; this is the reason given to explain and justify the policy of the Allies. But there was another reason for this step, a reason that has existed all through the nineteenth century—Great Britain's fear of the rising power of Russia as manifested in the Russian penetration of Central Asia and in Russian expansion in the Far East. France, on the other hand, looked for material economic advantages where Great Britain mainly pursued a political aim, although the British were not likely to overlook economic possibilities. France and Great Britain came to an understanding and agreed to an actual dismemberment of Russia in *L'Accord*

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*Franco-Anglais du 23 Décembre, 1917, définissant les zones d'action française et anglaise.*

The full text of this agreement is reproduced in the annex of Louis Fischer's *The Soviets in World Affairs* as follows:

Convention between France and England on the subject of activity in Southern Russia. [Translated from the French original.]

1. The activity directed by France is to be developed north of the Black Sea (against the enemy). The activity directed by England is to be developed southeast of the Black Sea (against the Turks).

2. Whereas General Alexeev at Novocherkassk has proposed the execution of a program envisaging the organization of an army intended to operate against the enemy, and whereas France has adopted that program and allocated a credit of \$100,000,000 for this purpose and made provision for the organization of interallied control, the execution of the program shall be continued until new arrangements are made in concert with England.

3. With this reservation, the zones of influence assigned to each government shall be as follows:

The English zone: The Cossack territories, the territory of the Caucasus, Armenia, Georgia, Kurdistan. The French zone: Bessarabia, the Ukraine, the Crimea.

4. The expenses shall be pooled and regulated by a centralizing interallied organ.

As for references to this agreement, the most explicit statements, although they do not quite coincide, are made in the writings of General A. Denikin and of Winston Churchill. Mr. Churchill states that "on Dec. 23, 1917, an Anglo-French convention had been agreed to at Paris between Clemenceau, Pichon and Foch on the one hand, and Lord Milner, Lord Robert Cecil and British military representatives on the other, regulating the future action of France and Britain in Southern Russia. \* \* \* It followed from this, as set out in Article III, that the French zone would consist of Bessarabia, the Ukraine and the Crimea, and the English zone of Cossack territories, the Caucasus, Ar-

menia, Georgia and Kurdistan. The War Cabinet on Nov. 13, 1918, reaffirmed their adherence to these limitations."\* This statement corresponds with the text given by Mr. Fischer.

General Denikin relates that he received confirmation of this agreement from the French representative, Colonel Corbeil, in his letter, No. 1,926, dated May 27, 1919, and that "the line dividing the zones was drawn from the Bosphorus through the Straits of Kertch to the mouth of the River Don and further along the Don up to Tsaritsin, leaving to the east the English zone of action and to the west—the French." He continues: "This strange line had no reason whatsoever from the strategic point of view, taking in no consideration of the Southern operation directions to Moscow nor the idea of unity of command. Also, in dividing into halves the land of the Don Cossacks, it did not correspond to the possibilities of a rational supplying of the southern armies and satisfied rather the interests of occupation and exploitation than those of a strategic covering and help."†

While Mr. Churchill states that the British zone comprised the *Cossack territories*, the Caucasus, Armenia, et cetera, and the French "Bessarabia, the Ukraine and the Crimea," General Denikin affirms the "dividing into halves" of "the Land of the Don Cossacks" by a line "drawn from the Bosphorus through the Straits of Kertch to the mouth of the River Don and further along the Don up to Tsaritsin." A. Margolin, who says that he learned of the existence of this agreement in Odessa early in 1919 from a "very authoritative source," declares that "according to this agreement, England obtained a sphere of influence \* \* \* in the Caucasus, on the Kuban and in the eastern part of the Don territories, while France received the Crimea, the Ukraine,

\*Winston S. Churchill: *The Aftermath*, pp. 167-168. Author's italics.

†A. Denikin: *Ocherki russkoi smuti*, Vol. IV, p. 39. Author's italics.



Poland and the western part of the Don territories."<sup>\*</sup>

General Denikin's statement corresponds more to the actual limitations, because even if Mr. Churchill reproduced exactly the terms of the agreement reached on Dec. 23, 1917, it might have been modified when actually put into operation in South Russia. General Denikin writes about what actually took place in South Russia in 1919 and not what had been decided in Paris in 1917.

The comparison of Mr. Churchill's statement with the full text published by Mr. Fischer seems to destroy any doubt as to its exactness. Besides, Mr. Churchill, in a personal letter, writes: "With regard to the statement concerning *L'Accord Franco-Anglais* made by me in *The Aftermath* there is not the slightest doubt as to its correctness, as it was based on notes made of a document to which I had access at the time." Mr. Churchill's quotations also coincide with parts of Mr. Fischer's full text of the agreement. What was of importance in the Denikin statement was not so much the terms reached between France and Great Britain in December, 1917, but the practical application of these terms in South Russia. A survey of the economic resources in the two zones of influence lends strength to the Denikin declaration. Bessarabia, the Ukraine and the Crimea are large granaries, while the western part of the Don territories, which, according to the statements of Denikin and Margolin, had been assigned to France, comprises the famous coal region of the Donetz, worthless to England but of great importance to France. England in turn obtained all the Russian oil fields in the Caucasus.

This partitioning of Russia does not mention the northern districts of Archangel and Murmansk. Nothing about North Russia is published by Fischer, Churchill or Denikin, although

Fischer comments on the text of the agreement: "Apparently a parallel agreement disposed in similar fashion of other parts of Russia." On the other hand, A. Margolin says: "England obtained spheres of influence in North Russia, in the Baltic provinces, in the Caucasus." There is also the confirmation of a special agreement between the allied governments, as far as North Russia was concerned, in a statement of the British General Staff on April 15, 1919, which reads: "*It must be pointed out that Great Britain is the mandatory of the Allies in respect to North Russia.*" No official document proves such an agreement, but this statement, delivered in an official publication of the British Government, may be trusted. Great Britain's interest in North Russia lay in the fact that these regions produce an enormous amount of timber; England actually exported large shipments of lumber throughout the Summer of 1919.

Here is a picture of organized economic penetration under the cover of military intervention. But this is not all. France was not satisfied with the immediate advantages that were obtainable from the presence of her troops in South Russia. She looked to the future and tried to induce General Denikin to sign a treaty which, if the anti-Bolshevik forces had won, would have put Russia at her mercy. France failed to persuade General Denikin to reduce Russia to economic slavery, but succeeded later when General Wrangel replaced General Denikin in command of the anti-Bolshevik armies and at the head of the South Russian Government.

The text of the treaty between France and Wrangel was first published by the British Labor newspaper, *The Daily Herald*, on Aug. 30, 1920, and has never been denied. General Wrangel, as the head of the South Russian Government, accepted the following conditions:

1. To recognize all the obligations of Russia and of her towns toward France

<sup>\*</sup>A. Margolin: *Ukraine i politika Antanti*, p. 120. Author's italics.

with priority and the payment of interest on interest.

2. \* \* \* France converts all the Russian debts into a new 6½ per cent loan, with partial yearly liquidation during thirty-five years.

3. The payment of interest and the yearly liquidation is guaranteed by (a) the transfer to France of the right of exploitation of all railways in European Russia during a certain period; (b) the transfer to France of the right to oversee custom and port duties in all the ports of the Black and Azov Seas; (c) putting at the disposal of France all the surplus of grain in the Ukraine and the Kuban territories \* \* \*; (d) putting at the disposal of France three-quarters of the output of oil \* \* \*; (e) the transfer to France of one-fourth of all the coal of the Donetz output during a certain period of years. The periods of time mentioned will be fixed by a special agreement.\*

These terms clearly express the real reason for French intervention in Russia, although a Soviet writer has stated: "France was striving to obtain a *prolonged* and if possible an *all-sided* domination over Russia. She was mainly interested in her *future* relations with Russia; as to the old obligations of Russia \* \* \* they did not represent the main reason for intervention. These obligations interested France in a large measure not in themselves but only as a means of a prolonged enslavement of Russia."†

As for Great Britain's reasons for intervention, apart from the economic aims which were only of secondary importance, there is a statement made in 1919 by Lord Balfour, who was then Foreign Secretary. Balfour was convinced, according to C. Nabokov, the last Russian diplomatic representative in London, "that a rapprochement between Russia and Germany in the nearest future is unavoidable and inevitable. Therefore the *strengthening of Russia is dangerous to England*."‡ This may explain why Great Britain carried out her part of the intervention in Russia by half-measures,

which certainly did not help the anti-Bolshevik forces in their struggle for a national government. An opinion of a Soviet writer completes the picture of British policy toward Russia in the years of intervention: "All the interventionist steps of England," he says, "were dominated by a fear of seeing the resurrection of the old great unified Russia, the historic rival of Great Britain."\* He continues: "In the north as well as in the south and in Siberia the tactics of the English were clearly denoted by their desire to support the Russian counter-revolution only as much as it was necessary to prevent a unification of Russia on the one hand under the Bolsheviks, and on the other hand under the supporters of the great one indivisible Russia."

When the Labor opposition forced Lloyd George to withdraw British military help to the anti-Bolshevik forces, Russia was left in a chaotic state, a field for the undisturbed activity of the Bolsheviks. There need be no surprise, then, that the special "report of the committee to collect information on Russia, presented to Parliament by command of the King," should contain the following bitter, but frank statement of Russian feeling in 1920-21: "With regard to the effects of intervention, the abundant and almost unanimous testimony of our witnesses shows that the military intervention of the Allies in Russia assisted to give strength and cohesion to the Soviet Government. \* \* \* There is evidence to show that up to the time of military intervention the majority of the Russian intellectuals were well disposed toward the Allies, and more especially to Great Britain, but that later the attitude of the Russian people toward the Allies became characterized by indifference, distrust and antipathy." Such was the reward that Great Britain and France received for their activity in Russia.

\*Antanta i Wrangel, pp. 25-26.

†A. Gukovsky; *Franzuskaya intervensiya*, p. 23.

‡C. Nabokov: *Ispitaniya diplomata*, p. 247.

\*I. Tanin: *10 let vneshnei politiki S. S. S. R.*, p. 56.

# San Francisco: Metropolis Of the West

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By GEORGE P. WEST

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**E**IGHTY years of vivid existence as the capital of a Far West that remained pioneering and isolated have ended for San Francisco with its final realization that the Pacific Slope has come of age and that the city must face its destiny as a new world metropolis. A community that has loved its own ways, that quoted approvingly Bret Harte's "serene, indifferent to fate," that cherished its eccentrics and individualists and was the despair of the booster, has realized at last that forces beyond its control are at work for change. In ten years the last westward surge of the Aryan race has deposited more than 2,000,000 new people in California alone. They are still coming, and with them a great industrial development, an enormous increase in wealth, a securities market and banking strength that taken together have lifted California from colonial status to that of one of the world's self-contained centres.

Great new steamships built and building for the Orient, Australian and Panama Canal trades, enormous riches in oil and natural gas, a transformation of the great interior valleys from wheat fields into orchards and vineyards crying for new markets and a sudden realization by Eastern industrialists that here is a rich and growing domestic market plus a take-off for all the Pacific basin that demands new factories on the spot—these are among the factors

that are making California's future. Hastening the change, perhaps providing its strongest impulse, is the search for comfort and a good life by the restless well-to-do of the Mississippi Valley, and even of the Eastern States. The decade after the World War saw a stirring up of the national ant-heap comparable only with the westward and industrial expansion after the Civil War. What we seem to have had since 1920 is the taking of stock by a vast number of well-to-do people suddenly become restless, and restrained neither by deep roots in the soil nor by lack of means from following the lure of a comfortable climate, Mediterranean domestic architecture, all-year golf and the business opportunities of a buoyant, prosperous and rapidly growing population.

More and more California makes its appeal to Americans who are dissatisfied with life in the Zeniths and Midletowns and who hit on it as a compromise between staying at home and languishing in boredom as expatriates in Europe. And more and more California life will be conditioned by their need to set up under their own flag some of the values that attract them on the Continent of Europe.

Today 1,500,000 people live on San Francisco Bay. Hemmed in by water on three sides and high hills on the fourth, San Francisco is the Manhattan, as Oakland, Berkeley and Alameda are the Brooklyn of the metropolitan area. Thus far the new pop-

ulation has not come fast enough to swamp the old. A selective process is at work, with San Francisco acting as a touchstone and attracting largely the kind of people who would like the kind of city it is. But no more than New York of the '70s has San Francisco a choice. Its great harbor, centrally situated on the coast as a distributing point, its supremacy in the growing Pacific trade, its leadership in banking, in insurance, in administrative convenience for the great corporations doing a coast-wide and Pacific-wide business, its cultural advantages—all these have taken the decision out of its hands.

While the "old guard" rages, while one citizen in four protests that he does not want more people and that the city is already becoming too crowded and losing its old spirit, the logic of events forces change and what we call progress. San Francisco definitely surrendered to its destiny on Nov. 4, 1930, when by a three-to-one majority it voted \$35,000,000 in bonds for the Golden Gate Bridge. It will be the longest suspension bridge in the world, with a central span exceeding 4,000 feet. While Gertrude Atherton and many others mourn, it will throw across the famous gate what artists and engineers insist will be a rarely beautiful thing of soaring steel, to join the isolated city with the Marin shore and hasten the development of North Bay counties now given over to orchards and vineyards hemmed in by dense forests filled with deer. Important as the bridge is in itself, the decision to build it was more important. For the campaign was a bitter and probably decisive encounter between the old spirit and the new, with the Chamber of Commerce, under new and younger leadership, waging the fight for the bridge against its own "old guard." Already work has been hastened on plans for the still greater and much more needed bridge to connect San Francisco and the East Bay—a contiguous group of closely built-up cities, Oakland, Alameda,

Berkeley, Richmond—where 500,000 people dwell, separated from the city by a train-and-ferry ride of from 35 to 60 minutes. A commission appointed jointly by President Hoover and Governor Young has worked the project into acceptable form, and the opposition is disheartened by its defeat on the Golden Gate Bridge issue. At the same election that assured the bridge, \$10,000,000 in bonds was voted for expanding and modernizing San Francisco docks. Another significant project is the joining of the bay cities in a concerted effort to develop new industries.

San Francisco takes into the new era an individuality as strongly marked as that of any city three times its age. How much of it she will keep is a question, but if the past is a criterion she will keep a good deal. She has kept it through eighty years of gradual change and expansion, through earthquake and fire, and even today, when every fourth or fifth citizen is a newcomer of less than ten years' residence, there is evidence that if she wins strangers at all she wins them completely to her own point of view and her own way of life. For the others there is Los Angeles waiting with open arms.

Gold mining and the sea made San Francisco. They made it almost overnight into a cosmopolitan city of lusty adventurers. "A sense of pleasure was born here, and here persisted," wrote Thomas Beer in *The Mauve Decade*. From the sea came British sailors, Yankees from the ports of New England, Southerners from Baltimore and New Orleans, Irish in great numbers, Italians already entrenched on the coasts of South and Central America, Frenchmen, Australians, Germans and Scandinavians, Chinese and Kanakas from the islands. Overland came picked boys from every city and countryside between the Atlantic and the Mississippi. They met on San Francisco's windy, chilly streets, invigorated by the stir of adventure, the tang of the imminent sea together with the variety



and strangeness of the human scene.

San Francisco was both the starting point and the residuary legatee of the Gold Rush, its wealth and its spirit. Men in early San Francisco were happy as men at war are happy, because they were free of women's control, free of the matriarchy of settled communities where, in America at least, the rearing of children sets all values. San Francisco has remained to this day a man-made society, free from the interference with the manners and morals of others that is the characteristic of woman-ruled communities. It accounts for the zest of life there and perhaps for the charm of its women.

By 1859 San Francisco had 150,000 people and surprised Richard Henry Dana by the excellence of its French restaurants, the luxury of its shops and the style of its women. The wealth of the Comstock Lode in Nevada flowed to it, following the gold of the Mother Lode. Then in the sixties came the first transcontinental railroad, and the mansions and millions of the men who built it. Here came, too, the wealth of the great cattle and wheat ranches, of the sugar and later the pineapple plantations of Hawaii, the proceeds of lumbering in the redwoods of the Coast Range and the pines of the Sierras.

With the riches came the men who had made them. Flushed with success after lonely years in deep canyons, on far-away islands, in the depths of forests, they craved magnificence for themselves and even more for their wives and daughters. They ransacked Europe for objects of art to decorate their florid jig-saw mansions; they brought artists and interior decorators home with them; they patronized hotels and clubs and restaurants that became famous the world over for their sublimation of good living and good fellowship; they supported theatres where stars from London and New York lingered, infatuated with the town and its life; they bred race horses and entertained lavishly at

great country estates where some of the old feudal spaciousness of the Spanish era lingers to this day. Sea food, wild fowl, native wines in abundance cheered the French chefs who flocked there to grow rich as restaurateurs. Always the sea kept them in touch with the Orient and with Europe, and brought new increments of bold enterprises, picturesque worldlings, adventurers and vagabonds.

The famous Bohemian Club was founded in the mid-seventies, and even earlier rich Jewish merchants from Paris and the Rhine, railroad builders, bonanza miners' wives, had created a market for works of art and had drawn here a large colony of artists who instantly felt at home and slowly established a hierarchy. The art school was opened by Virgil Williams, who "stood up" with Robert Louis Stevenson at his marriage in 1879. From the first, it was generously supported. Music, too, fared well from the beginning. French, Italian and German opera singers abounded, with a hundred cafés to feed and adulate them when engagements failed. From the first, Chinatown was important. Its leading merchants numbered a few who knew Oriental art and gradually spread a taste for it, and American importers competed with them from an early date.

But the Yankees were neither idle nor altogether seduced by this pagan scene. It was Starr King, of the First Unitarian Church, who kept California in the Union by his oratory, over the bitter opposition of the large faction of fire-eating Southerners. Daniel C. Gilman was to lay the foundations of the University of California at Berkeley, now the first or second in size in America, and it was the Yankee Senator, Leland Stanford, in 1888, who endowed Stanford University, brought Dr. David Starr Jordan to organize it and employed the Bostonian Richardson to design its first buildings. And it was an American of the orthodox stock who founded Mills College

at Oakland, for the daughters of the pioneers.

By the middle nineties, San Francisco, which had never been without its excited and admired literary coterie since Bret Harte and Mark Twain worked together on *The Californian Weekly* of the mid-sixties, had the beginnings of the brilliant group that included Frank Norris, Gelett Burgess, Jack London, Ambrose Bierce, Chester Bailey Fernald and George Sterling. Its studios housed as eager and happy a group of young painters and sculptors as any quarter of Paris.

Then came the earthquake and fire of 1906. It put a period to the old San Francisco and for a time threatened the destruction of the city's distinctive spirit and charm. But not for long. The city's lovers came flocking back, and by 1915 they had found themselves in the creation of the beautiful Panama-Pacific Exposition to celebrate the re-building and the opening of the Panama Canal.

Prohibition was a greater blow, closing the favorite eating places where good food and sound claret brought young painters and writers together over incredibly cheap table d'hôte meals. The city's café life has never recovered, for its speakeasies are not nearly so numerous nor so amusing as those of New York. But creative young people manage to flourish still. *Hesperian*, San Francisco's newest little magazine, is distinguished in form and content, and there were never so many galleries maintained for the showing of work by local artists. The San Francisco School of Fine Arts, generously endowed, occupies a beautiful new building of Italian design on the high slope of Russian Hill. Alma de Brettville Spreckles ten years ago duplicated the Palace of the Legion of Honor in white marble on a headland above the Pacific. It is filled now with permanent exhibitions of great merit. The Panama-Pacific Exposition left as its heritage the lovely Palace of Fine Arts, designed by Bernard May-

beck of Berkeley. And work began in the Winter of 1930-31 on a \$6,000,000 municipal opera house and concert hall built as a war memorial. It will provide a home for the Symphony Orchestra, just now without a permanent conductor but built up into a fine organization by Alfred Hertz. In music the city's recent history has been starred also by the names of Ernest Bloch and of Louis Persinger. The large colony of wealthy Jews is the nucleus of a patronage that includes many thousands who pack the Exposition Auditorium at municipal concerts on Sunday afternoon, when great visiting soloists appear with the Symphony.

In architecture San Francisco makes a brave showing. Its many new skyscrapers crowd right up to the lower slopes of the sheer hills which rise from the business quarter, and even crown the highest of all, Nob Hill, with high and massive hotels. The work of Timothy Pflueger commands admiration from architects everywhere, particularly his 400-foot-high Sutter Street building, with its bold and honest use of steel, concrete and glass in the modern idiom, and his new building for the San Francisco Stock Exchange. Notable, too, is the work of George Kelham in the Standard Oil Building and the beautiful new tower of the Shell Union Oil Company, of Arthur Brown Jr., in the more conventional French Renaissance of his City Hall and his opera house, of W. B. Faville in the graceful Italian lines of the State Building in the Civic Centre, of Bernard Maybeck in his daring and successful use of exotic motives in homes, motor car sales rooms and the Palace of Fine Arts, and of Clarence Tantau in his adaptation of Spanish colonial to homes on the Peninsula and in Monterey.

Architects have been exceptionally generous in making use of mural painters and sculptors, and many structures are enriched by the murals of Arthur Mathews, Maynard Dixon

and Ray Boynton, and the sculptures of Ralph Stackpole. As this was written, Diego Rivera of Mexico City had just joined the painters' quarter to execute a mural for the luncheon room of the new Stock Exchange Building. No amount of ridicule from jealous local painters, pointing out that Rivera has savagely cartooned the American plutocracy, has swerved the Stock Exchange directors from their choice of the great Mexican.

Whether the United States can ever support more than one great metropolitan centre, whether any city except New York can provide markets for its own talented individuals, is still doubtful. San Francisco has an immense printing and publishing business, but no publishers of books worthy of comparison with those of New York. Even its newspapers have suffered from the standardization that flows from New York and its syndicated features. Where once was a local market for stories and drawings in the Sunday sections, today there is none, and talented youngsters feel less and less at home on newspaper staffs. Nor is it easy to look ahead and foresee a day when the cultural interests and idioms of the Pacific Coast will resist the leveling and harmonizing influence of New York and vary widely enough to demand expression of their own. It is too bad, for San Francisco is filled with talented youngsters who love the city and yet feel the need of migrating.

In printers, at least, San Francisco holds its own. John Henry Nash's work is well known, and in the Grabhorn Brothers the city has a house that has won the gold medal of the American Institute of Graphic Arts and that has scored again and again, most recently with its Random House edition of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*. Altogether, half a dozen San Francisco printers have repeatedly found place on the institute's annual lists of Fifty Books of the Year.

Just now, there are depressing possibilities in the flood of new people

swarming into Southern California and overflowing northward into the central valleys. San Francisco's unique spirit was not born in the age of Ford and radio, and that it can survive to make a lasting contribution is by no means certain. In the long run, one may be permitted to believe, the city's climate and physical setting will be a decisive factor in keeping it in character. It is a blend of topography and climate, each as bizarre and unexpected as possible, and if ever the two elements reacted on a population, they do here.

Crowded and compact like a European town on the tip of its peninsula, San Francisco is surrounded by salt water on three sides, and much of its limited surface consists of incredibly steep hills, rising sheer from the business quarter on one side and the bay on the other. To the west lies the open Pacific, while to the north and east the great bay stretches to distant shores where suburban cities are dwarfed between the waters before them and the low mountains behind. The clean, white light seems caught and reflected in the bowl of the bay, but there are many afternoons when the sea-fog rolls in white and billowing, eerie, chill, carrying the very breath of the sea. Discomfort from heat is unknown, but Eastern visitors shiver on Summer afternoons; natives with delicate children flee inland to escape July and August fogs and winds that are trying to the weak and the unacclimated. It is a freak climate that yields, over the first near range of hills, to the Summer warmth of protected valleys. But to be in San Francisco on nine days in ten is to experience the feeling of being on a ship at sea. Its effect on the people is profound. It produces a ruddy, invigorated race, like deep-sea sailors. A stimulating sea-tang sharpens their appetites, heightens their zest, while the fog gives variety, mood and sadness to break the monotony of sunlight.

# Winston Churchill:

## "Gentleman Adventurer"

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By WICKHAM STEED

*Editor, English Review of Reviews; Author of "The Real Stanley Baldwin"*

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[Another sensational episode in Winston Churchill's career in British politics, giving point to the character study printed below, took place after Mr. Steed's article was sent from London. During the important debate on India in the House of Commons on Jan. 26 (dealt with elsewhere in this magazine) Mr. Churchill, in flat opposition to the wishes of Stanley Baldwin, former Prime Minister and leader of the Conservative Opposition, made a bitter attack on the MacDonald Government's Indian policy and on the results of the Round-Table Conference. Mr. Baldwin, desirous of bringing about better relations between Great Britain and India, at once repudiated Mr. Churchill's criticism and pledged himself "to offer India a partnership in the British Empire." To this, on Jan. 29, Mr. Churchill replied with a letter to Mr. Baldwin withdrawing from the "Shadow Cabinet" or "business committee" of Conservative leaders. This step caused considerable speculation as to Mr. Churchill's future. In some quarters it was believed that he was seeking the leadership of the Conservative malcontents, with a view to challenging Mr. Baldwin's position; others thought that Mr. Churchill was now a spent force in British politics; while the *Manchester Guardian* disposed of him as a "mountebank." In any case, Mr. Steed's character study serves to throw light on a man who has for a generation been one of the most conspicuous figures among British politicians.]

FOR thirty years Mr. Winston Spencer Churchill has been a star of some magnitude in the British firmament. The brightness of his light has waxed and waned by turns. Dazzling at times, at others it

has paled unaccountably. Today it is dim.

Has he a future? It is hard to say. In the Autumn of 1924, when Mr. Stanley Baldwin suddenly made him Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Churchill seemed within measurable distance of achieving his life's ambition. From the Treasury to the Prime Minister's seat may be but a short step. Thus it was in Mr. Baldwin's own case. Thus it might have been in that of Lord Randolph Churchill, Winston's father, whom Lord Salisbury made Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons in the Conservative Administration of 1886.

Lord Randolph threw away his chance. He "forgot Goschen." Deeming himself irreplaceable, he sought to force Lord Salisbury's hand by resignation. Mr. (afterward Lord) Goschen stepped into his shoes and produced the budget which was to have established Lord Randolph's fame as warden of the Treasury and to have fortified his claim upon the reversion of the Premiership. Under the disappointment Lord Randolph wilted, and presently died—a broken-hearted man.

In filial piety the son longed to vindicate the father by proving the Churchill genius for public finance, and his own fitness for the highest office. The country looked upon these ambitions with some sympathy. They



were felt to be natural in a man still young, as age goes in politicians; and though some heads were shaken at the idea that Winston—who, in irregular rhythm, had been Tory, Liberal, and again Tory—should aspire to lead the Conservative party, the odds were thought to be in his favor.

He began his Chancellorship with the good-will of the City. His first budgets were received with approval. He restored the gold standard. But, before 1926 was out, his credit had declined. In 1927 the opinion spread that, despite the hard work he never spared and the streak of inspiration discernible in many of his doings and sayings, he was one of the worst Chancellors on record. His last two budgets, those of 1928 and 1929, were what Mr. Philip Snowden called "briber's budgets"—obviously framed with a single eye to the general election that could not be long delayed. Having annexed the "road fund" for purposes of general revenue, and raided every "nest egg" which the Treasury held in reserve for emergencies, he ended by playing fast and loose with the Sinking Fund and left the country burdened with something like \$1,500,000,000 of fresh debt, or an amount exceeding the total of debt-redemption during the period of his Chancellorship. By the time the Baldwin Administration was defeated at the general election of May, 1929, Mr. Churchill's reputation as Chancellor had suffered complete eclipse, and his chance of securing the Conservative leadership had vanished. His name was hardly mentioned among those of possible successors to Mr. Stanley Baldwin.

Whence comes this fading in the fortunes of a man undeniably brilliant, resourceful, bold and astute? With rare resilience he has risen, again and again, from what looked like crushing defeat. He cannot yet be "counted out." Foiled in one direction, he will assuredly seek to break through in another. His whole career is a record of refusal to admit discom-

fiture. Whether as soldier, journalist, polo player, orator, politician, writer, painter or bricklayer—he has been all these successively or simultaneously—he has never said die. His multitudinous activities have been so many openings for an indomitable temperament and for talents of infinite variety.

He has been the butt of countless epigrams. More "studies" have been written of him than of any English public character. "It is not that Mr. Churchill is more multitudinous than others," writes A. G. Gardiner, the eminent Liberal critic, in 1913, when Mr. Churchill was still a Liberal, "it is that one seems to look in vain for that fundamental note that makes the discords of supreme men plain. \* \* \* It is the ultimate Churchill that escapes us. I think he escapes us for a good reason. He is not there." After the war, in 1926, when Mr. Churchill had rejoined the Conservatives, the same shrewd observer said: "He is never a demagogue nor a sycophant, and if he changes his party with the facility of partners at a dance, he has always been true to the only party he really believes in—that which is assembled under the hat of Mr. Winston Churchill."

It is a large hat, sizes bigger than the hats of normal men. Yet "the party" beneath it has grown smaller by degrees. The late E. T. Raymond, most pungent of "character students," wrote in 1918: "At 37 men looked on Mr. Churchill as a statesman of some achievement. At 47 he is discussed as a politician of considerable promise. \* \* \* From the great Duke [of Marlborough] he inherits, perhaps, his courage, his warlike tastes, much of his intellect and no little of his facility for espousing new causes and discarding old ones. \* \* \* The sedative influence of principle he is unhappily denied." Mr. Asquith once remarked: "Winston has genius without judgment"; but it remained for one of his chief colleagues in the last Baldwin Administration to utter

blandly the severest stricture of all: "If Winston would give up politics and stick to writing, he might be the most brilliant British historian since Macaulay."

"Give up politics!" What likelihood is there that Mr. Churchill will ever "give up politics"? It seems as slender as the chance that he will ever be Prime Minister. Politics are to him the breath of life; the political arena is, in his eyes, a limitless field of adventure. Of all the epithets that have been hurled at him, "Gentleman Adventurer" describes him most aptly. He is high-hearted and fearless, gifted, self-dramatizing, self-conscious, irrepressible and rhetorical; yet, by common consent, he misses greatness by the merest fraction of an inch. His dashing exploits and splendid failures would suffice to fill the lives of half a dozen lesser men. Four years hence he will be 60; but none thinks of him as elderly or sedate. His latest book\* tells of his boyhood and adolescent adventures. It is a masterpiece of self-revelation. In many a passage it warrants the saying of H. G. Wells: "There are times when the evil spirit comes upon him, and then I can think of him only as an intractable little boy, a mischievous little boy, a knee-worthy little boy. Only by thinking of him in that way can I go on liking him."

At school, Mr. Churchill confesses, he was "backward and precocious." In these and in other respects he has never ceased to be a schoolboy; he is still backward and still precocious. There are other men in British public life who have forgotten to grow up. Sir James Barrie is one of them. He is Peter Pan in the flesh. But Winston Churchill remains an urchin who seems never to have been young. He was an old boy, solemnly magniloquent even in childhood; and, in what should now be his mature age, he is unable to discard immaturity.

\**My Early Life*. Published in America as *A Roving Commission*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

A strong, often a rollicking, sense of humor redeems not a few of his faults, save only his tacit assumption of infallibility. Barely, if ever, does he doubt that he has done "the right thing." An acquaintance who was with him when, in 1915, he received Mr. Asquith's letter accepting his resignation of the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster in order to take service at the front, heard him soliloquize thus: "I have done the right thing. I must go to the front. I hate being cold. I loathe being ordered about. But the 'Tommies' will understand. The wounded boys in the street always give me a cheer. They'll see what I mean." So to the front he went, served with distinction and returned home to become Minister of Munitions.

His inner life is a perpetual speech, not only to himself. He orates to all and sundry, practicing his periods upon those who will and upon those who will not hear. He does not want to listen to others. His side of the case is the right side. For give-and-take argument he has little use; he tells you what is right. In *A Roving Commission* he relates, with dry wit, an early instance of this inveterate habit. On landing with his regiment at Bombay, in 1896, he was invited by Lord Sandhurst, the Governor, to dine at Government House: "His Excellency, after the health of the Queen-Empress had been drunk and dinner was over, was good enough to ask my opinion on several matters and, considering the magnificent character of his hospitality, I thought it would be unbecoming in me not to reply fully. I have forgotten the particular points of British and Indian affairs upon which he sought my counsel; all I can remember is that I responded generously. There were, indeed, moments when he seemed willing to impart his own views; but I thought it would be ungracious to put him to so much trouble; and he very readily subsided. He kindly sent his aide de camp with us to make sure we found our way

back to camp all right. On the whole, after forty-eight hours of intensive study, I formed a highly favorable opinion about India."

With all his engaging readiness to poke fun at himself, no man is more eager than he not to be misrepresented. He will seek out editors after midnight and insist upon polishing up the too-faithful report of a speech he has just delivered. In epistolary controversy he has been known to resent contradiction to the point of sending the whole correspondence to a quarter from which the other controversialist might have something to fear. When he was First Lord of the Admiralty, in the first ten months of the war, he had always in the drawer of his table a memorandum to prove how wrong Admiral Jacky Fisher had been—a precaution justified, perhaps, by a suspicion that Fisher had written countervailing memoranda to prove how wrong Winston had been. In the second volume of his *World Crisis*, fragments of these documents survive. On the whole, Winston's conception of the attack upon the Dardanelles was probably right. Its success would have changed the course of the war. Though technically plausible, Fisher's strictures upon it lacked insight. He wrote to Winston on May 16, 1915: "You are bent on forcing the Dardanelles and nothing will turn you from it—NOTHING. I know you so well!" Fisher therefore left the Admiralty. Winston also left, on June 1, 1915, and accepted for a while a minor office as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. But his review of the whole Dardanelles and Gallipoli operation, written in 1925, is characteristic: "Searching my heart," it concludes, "I cannot regret the effort. It was good to go as far as we did. Not to persevere—that was the crime."

Winston has always persevered, impulsively, wrong-headedly maybe, yet doughtily. Doggedness is the keynote of his career—and what a career it has been! Hardly gazetted to the Fourth Hussars in his twenty-first

year, he pulled strings—he was forever pulling strings—to get a chance of seeing warfare in Cuba. A year later he sailed with his regiment for India, found the life of a cavalry subaltern at Bangalore too dull, and pulled more strings to get himself accredited, as officer and war correspondent, to a British force then operating against the Pathan tribesmen on the northwest frontier. There he saw fighting such as Kipling described in "The Drums of the Fore and Aft," came through it unscathed, and noted, on his return to Bangalore, "a very general opinion" that he had been given enough leave and "should now do a steady spell of routine duty." Unabashed, he and his indefatigable mother again pulled strings to have him attached to the Tirah Expeditionary Force—and, by luck, succeeded.

At the close of the Tirah campaign he planned to get into the Anglo-Egyptian army which was about to attack the Mahdi in the Sudan. But by this time his reputation as a "hustler," a "medal hunter" and a "self-advertiser" was solidly—and unfavorably—established. Kitchener, the Sirdar of Egypt, disliked him and snubbed Lady Randolph for her maternal entreaties. Thanks to Lord Salisbury and other highly placed personages Winston contrived nevertheless to command a troop of the Twenty-first Lancers in the battle of Omdurman, took no harm though the regiment lost nearly a quarter of its strength, wrote dispatches to the *Morning Post* in London and the best account of "The River War"—and forthwith threw up his commission in the army. He stood for Parliament, was beaten in a by-election at Oldham, and hurried off, as correspondent for the *Morning Post*, to the Boer War, which had just broken out in South Africa.

There, in October, 1899, he joined an armored train of which an old comrade was in command. The train was wrecked. Winston, armed with a

Mausser pistol, bore himself gallantly under heavy fire, enabled the engine of the train, laden with wounded, to escape and found himself held up by a Boer horseman with a rifle. Reaching for his pistol Winston thought to kill the Boer. Luckily, it had fallen from his belt. So he surrendered to the Boer—who was none other than Louis Botha, afterward Commander-in-Chief of the Boer Army and first Prime Minister of the South African Dominion. Had Winston shot him, many things might have been different both in South Africa and during the World War, when Botha conquered German Southwest Africa, became a member of the British War Cabinet and signed the peace treaty.

From prison in Pretoria Winston made a sensational escape, returned to the British forces, secured a commission in the South African Light Horse, fought in a dozen fights, took part in the capture of Johannesburg and Pretoria and, though the war was only half over, returned to England in 1900, stood once more in the Conservative interest at Oldham, and entered Parliament at the age of 26 as an infant prodigy.

The discipline of party he found as irksome as the discipline of the army. Edging away from the Tories, he drew near to the Liberals, whom he joined on the eve of their triumph at the general election of 1906. Returned as a Liberal, he was at once appointed Under-Secretary for the Colonies. Two years later he became president of the Board of Trade, with a seat in the Cabinet. By 1910 he was Home Secretary; and, from 1911 to 1915, First Lord of the Admiralty. After a spell of active service in France, Mr. Lloyd George appointed him Minister of Munitions in 1917 and Secretary of War in 1918. In 1921-22 he was Secretary of State for the Colonies. With Lloyd George he fell in consequence of the Chanak crisis of September, 1922—a crisis in which he had appealed to the dominions to join Great Britain in war against Turkey.

In 1924 Mr. Baldwin made him Chancellor of the Exchequer, Winston having, in the interval, forsaken the Liberal for the Tory party.

Notwithstanding what a recent writer has called his temporary "deviations into statesmanship," Winston's long years of office were marked by many a reckless episode. As Home Secretary in the Asquith Cabinet he sent artillery to smash a house held by a couple of Russian revolutionists in the East End of London and took personal command of the operation. During a railway strike he hurried troops hither and thither throughout the country, as though public order were in dire peril. "You've mistaken a coffee stall row for a social revolution," said a colleague who found him poring over a big map on which strategic points had been marked for military occupation. As First Lord of the Admiralty he went, in August-September, 1914, to direct the defense of Antwerp by the British Naval Division. At the War Office in 1918-21 he backed the offensives of the White Russian leaders, Denikin, Kolchak and Wrangel, against the Red Army; and he advocated with more vigor than prudence a policy of entrusting Germany with the liberation of Russia from bolshevism. A militant anti-Bolshevist he remains; for he sees in bolshevism the supreme danger to Western civilization.

His chief title to fame as a statesman is the part he played in the conclusion of the Anglo-Irish treaty of December, 1921, and in persuading the House of Commons to ratify it. Heavy though his responsibility had been for the "Black and Tan" period of repression in Ireland, he accepted the conciliatory policy laid down in the King's speech at the opening of the Northern Ireland Parliament on June 22, 1921, and acted thereafter in such fashion as to merit the valedictory message sent to him by Michael Collins in August, 1922: "Tell Winston we could never have done anything



without him." From that height of constructive endeavor he has since steadily fallen. The old Winston cropped up again during the general strike of 1926 when, as self-constituted commander-in-chief of the national resistance, he overplayed his hand. Save among a handful of Tory Diehards he won no esteem; nor are his political gifts greatly admired in other circles today. "Mischievous" was the adjective currently applied to his outburst at the most critical moment of the Round Table Conference on India in December, 1930.

Yet, with his record in mind, who can say that his political career is finished? His luck has served him so well in the past that the wheel of fortune may turn once more in his direction. He remains an uncertain quantity in British public life, a possible asset and an incalculable liability to any administration he may belong to, and a potential mutineer against any administration from which he may be excluded.

In the preface to *A Roving Commission* he observes that, since his boyhood, "the character of society, the foundations of politics, the methods of war, the outlook of youth, the scale of values, all are changed, and changed to an extent I should not have believed possible in so short a space without any violent domestic revolution." All this change has passed him by. He is the same unyouthful urchin, the same "Gentleman Adventurer," the same eager gladiator he has been from the beginning. With something like a sigh he notes the degeneration of war itself:

"War, which used to be cruel and magnificent, has now become cruel

and squalid. In fact it has been completely spoiled. It is all the fault of Democracy and Science. From the moment that either of these meddlers and muddlers was allowed to take part in actual fighting the doom of War was sealed. Instead of a small number of well-trained professionals championing their country's cause with ancient weapons and a beautiful intricacy of archaic manoeuvre, sustained at every moment by the applause of their nation, we now have entire populations, including even women and children, pitted against one another in brutish mutual extermination, and only a set of bleary-eyed clerks left to add up the butcher's bill. From the moment Democracy was admitted to, or rather forced itself upon the battlefield, War ceased to be a gentleman's game. To Hell with it! Hence the League of Nations." (*A Roving Commission*, page 79.)

Here we have, perhaps, the key to his mind. He sees in the League of Nations, and in the ideal it represents, a sorry substitute for what used to be the splendid game of war. Of peace, international and social, as the starting point of a new and higher phase in human development, he reckons little. He is a fighter for his country which, he sincerely believes, none is fitted to serve so dashingly and gallantly as he. Were he to choose a motto it would hardly be: "My country, right or wrong." It might well be: "My country, right and great through me."

Self-confidence on this majestic scale compels a meed of praise. In its magnitude it approximates to grandeur; and, like Winston's whole life, falls short of greatness by a hair's breadth.

# Trend Toward a Five-Hour Day

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By JOSEPH BRAGDON  
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ONE of the earliest results of the industrial revolution was a greatly lengthened working day. The agricultural system of working from sunrise until sunset inherited by the workers in the home and small shop proved entirely inadequate for the workers of the new era. Owners of small shops and their helpers found their hand-labor unable to compete with the new processes of the factories, and in consequence were forced greatly to increase the length of their working day or else to leave their shops and join the ever-increasing army of factory workers.

The industrial revolution began in Great Britain, and at first the American colonists were content to devote themselves to farming, fishing, hunting and trading, while they looked to the mother country for manufactured goods. The flood of immigration that inundated the United States soon after independence was established, together with the protective tariff policy embarked upon by the National Government after the War of 1812, brought about important changes. Unskilled workers, unable to make a living in the overcrowded labor market of England, came by the thousands to the ports of Boston, Philadelphia and New York; and, as they offered their services at very low wages in competition with the journeymen tradesmen and hand workers, they soon forced the wage and living standards in the

United States to a level almost as low as that in England.

As early as 1789, long before the factory system of production was established in this country, journeymen mechanics in Philadelphia formed a protective organization known as the Philadelphia Cordwainers' Society. Ten years later this society "turned out" in a body against a proposed reduction in their wages, and in 1806 went on strike for an increase of wages. Although on neither occasion did they specifically demand shorter hours, there was some complaint about the number of hours they were compelled to work in order to earn a bare living.

The masters indicted the leaders in the strike of 1806 on the charge of conspiracy in restraint of trade. In the course of the trial Lewis Ryan, an employer, stated that a good workman could earn \$11.25 per week. On being asked how many hours per day a man must work in order to earn \$11.25 per week, James Geoghan, journeyman cordwainer, testified as follows: "I have worked on them [fancy-topped boots] in 1805, and could only make \$8.50 per week, and I worked from 5 in the morning till 12 or 1 at night." Twenty years later it appeared that the condition of the tradesmen had become worse. In the *Pennsylvanian* for April 4, 1835, appeared an article showing that the earnings of a journeyman cordwainer in Philadelphia

were no more than from \$4 to \$6 per week for a fourteen-hour day. During a strike of the loaf bread bakers of New York City in 1834 the following item appeared in the *Workingmen's Advocate*: "A statement of fact has been submitted to the General Trades Union showing that the journeymen employed in the loaf bread business have for years been suffering worse than Egyptian bondage. They have had to labor on an average of eighteen to twenty hours out of the twenty-four."

Although there were murmurings about the long working hours considerably earlier, the first organized demand for their restriction occurred in the Summer of 1827, when the journeymen house carpenters of Philadelphia struck for a ten-hour day. They were assisted in their demands by the bricklayers; but the strike was unsuccessful largely because of the importation of journeymen carpenters from other cities. The movement did result, however, in the formation of the first central union of trades associations, the Mechanics' Union of Trades Associations, organized in the Fall of 1827; and out of this union grew the Workingmen's party, prominent in Philadelphia politics from 1828 to 1831. In 1828 the election bills of the Workingmen's party bore the legend "From Six to Six." They proposed a regular year-around working day of ten hours (not counting two hours for meals) as against the old irregular agricultural working day from sunrise to sunset. The financial panic of 1837 stopped for a while the agitation for the ten-hour system; but three years later, the action of President Van Buren in inaugurating the ten-hour day for all government employes gave a new impetus to the movement.

The first State law attempting to limit the working day to ten hours was passed by the Legislature of New Hampshire on July 3, 1847. This law was ineffective as were the ten-hour laws passed in several other States

shortly after the action of New Hampshire.

The first notice of the agitation for an eight-hour day appeared in the Proceedings of the New York State Industrial Legislature, published in the *Daily Tribune*, Sept. 4, 1851. A ten-hour law was demanded as a compromise between the twelve-hour system required by employers and the eight-hour system advocated by the workers. But the eight-hour day was not entirely new at this time. Seven years earlier carpenters and caulkers in the Charlestown Navy Yard won it on certain kinds of work; and in 1854 organized caulkers there obtained the eight-hour system for all work.

Eight-hour leagues were numerous in the '60s and many of them were associated with the National Labor Union. At the Baltimore convention of the union in 1866 resolutions were adopted favoring the eight-hour system, and a National Labor party was organized with the specific purpose of advocating the adoption of eight-hour laws by Congress and the State Legislatures. By the time the next convention convened in Chicago in 1867, six States had enacted eight-hour laws, and the lower house of Congress had adopted a bill establishing the eight-hour day for government employes. In June, 1868, the law making eight hours a legal day for government employes passed both houses of the Congress and went into effect.

As late as 1880, however, the average number of hours constituting a day's work was ten. But the United States census report for that year showed that from 1830 to 1880, the percentage of laborers working more than ten hours had decreased from 88.1 per cent in 1830 to 25.6 per cent in 1880; and the percentage of those working more than thirteen hours had dropped from 13.5 in 1830 to 2.5 in 1880.

In 1881 the American Federation of Labor began the fight for the eight-hour day. At its annual convention in 1884 the federation adopted a resolu-

tion making eight hours the official working day for its members after May 1, 1886; and on that day a general strike was called to force acceptance of the new system. The strike was successful in that it won the eight-hour system for several industries and resulted in a shortening of the work-day for some that had been working from thirteen to eighteen hours. The federation has not, in general, favored legislation limiting hours of labor, preferring to establish the eight-hour standard through labor organization.

Early eight-hour laws passed by the State Legislatures were as ineffective as the old ten-hour laws. The first of them strong enough to bring a test

000, or nearly 40 per cent, worked sixty hours or more per week. Only ten years later, out of 9,000,000 factory employes, 1,000,000, or 12 per cent, worked forty-four hours or less per week, nearly 4,500,000, or 48.6 per cent worked forty-eight hours or less per week; and only about 1,000,000, or 12 per cent, worked sixty hours or more per week. While less than 8 per cent of factory workers had reached a forty-eight-hour week standard by 1909, more than 48 per cent were enjoying it in 1919.

The following table shows the changes brought about in that decade in regard to the distribution of factory workers according to the number of hours worked:

Year.	44 Hrs. or Less.	45 Hrs. to 47 Hrs.	48 Hrs.	49 Hrs. to 53 Hrs.	54 Hrs.	55 Hrs. to 59 Hrs.	60 Hrs.	60 Hrs. and More.
1909 .....	0.0%	0.0%	7.9%	7.3%	15.4%	30.2%	30.5%	8.7%
1919 .....	12.2%	3.8%	32.6%	16.4%	9.1%	13.7%	9.1%	3.1%

case into the courts was the Utah law prohibiting more than eight hours' work a day in the mines and smelters. In February, 1898, the United States

Among the organized workers in the men's clothing industry this progress is clearly illustrated by the following table:

Year.	44 Hrs. or Less.	45 Hrs. to 48 Hrs.	49 Hrs. to 50 Hrs.	51 Hrs. to 53 Hrs.	54 Hrs.	55 Hrs. to 56 Hrs.	57 Hrs. to 59 Hrs.	60 Hrs. or More.
1911 .....		10%	....	5%	48%	26%	5%	6%
1913 .....		8%	13%	59%	20%	....	....	....
1914 .....		14%	25%	45%	16%	....	....	....
1919 .....	7%	84%	9%	....	....	....	....	....
1921 .....	97%	3%	....	....	....	....	....	....

Supreme Court affirmed the judgment of the Supreme Court of Utah that the act was a valid exercise of the police power of the State. Since that date nearly all States have attempted to restrict the length of the working day, either for all workers or for certain groups such as women or children. Legislation has done less, however, to shorten the working day than the efforts of labor organizations.

The progress of the movement in the first quarter of the twentieth century is strikingly illustrated by census figures. In 1909, out of slightly more than 6,500,000 workers employed in the manufacturing industries, 500,000, or about 8 per cent worked forty-eight hours or less per week, while 2,500,-

The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics has published the following data for over 781,000 members of organized trades in 1928:

	Hours per Week.
Building trades average .....	43.5
Granite and stone .....	44.0
Printing and publishing .....	44.3
Longshoremen .....	44.6
Newspaper trades .....	45.1
Linemen .....	45.7
Bakers .....	47.4
Laundry workers .....	48.0
Chauffeurs and drivers .....	54.8

The report of the Committee on Recent Economic Changes estimated the general average of hours per week for all workmen in all industries as 51.4 in 1914 and 48.2 in 1926.

While some industries have been



adopting the forty-eight hour week others have arrived at an even shorter working-week of forty-four hours and even forty hours. The first large-scale introduction of the five day or forty-four hour week took place in the Ford plants, and by the beginning of 1927 all the Ford manufacturing enterprises were organized on that basis. In 1929 the building trades in New York City, including 150,000 workers, gained the reduction from the five and a half to the five-day week with no cut in weekly pay. One 1930 estimate puts the number of workers now enjoying the five-day week at 1,000,000, but this figure is probably too large, although the American Federation of Labor claims that, among its membership alone, half that number work only five days a week.

Proposals for a four-day week, a six-hour day, and even five-hour and four-hour days are making themselves heard. The American Federation of Labor, meeting in Boston last October endorsed the five-day week movement, but postponed serious consideration of the five-hour day. In December the six-hour day was openly declared to be the objective of the railway brotherhoods.

Modern arguments for reductions in hours of labor are of an economic nature in contrast with the moral and social pleas made in the nineteenth century, when the usual working day was twelve to fourteen hours. Reformers then argued that it was impossible for a man to work from twelve to fourteen hours and still remain in good health and capable of performing his duties faithfully. The worker had no leisure to improve his mind or to attend to the affairs of his family, his State or his nation. Moreover, as children were included among the factory workers, and as little or no time was allowed for their education, a large section of people was growing up in ignorance. Finally, they urged, it was morally unjust that

the laborers should be allowed no opportunity to enjoy the products of their own industry.

Since child labor and compulsory education laws have eliminated one of these arguments and since the eight-hour system has very nearly eliminated the other, they have been replaced by the appeal to economic principles. One of the earliest of such reasonings was advanced by Ira Steward, a Boston machinist, who played a prominent part in the eight-hour movement during its early days. He believed that wages are determined by the habits, customs and wants of the working classes. A shorter working day would result in a general rise of wages. The reduction of hours would require the employment of more men, thus reducing the labor surplus and making labor dearer as it became scarcer. The new demand for labor would also increase the number of consumers who would in turn increase the demand for commodities and for laborers to produce them. Furthermore, the needs of the original group of workers with more leisure would be enlarged and the consequent increase in consumption would again raise the demand for labor and thereby the level of wages.

The validity of this argument depends on the assumption that the productivity of labor is increasing. If there is no increase in the workers' efficiency, then to shorten hours is to decrease the total of production. But it is shown that the constant introduction of labor-saving machinery continuously increases the productivity of the individual workman. The National Industrial Conference Board estimates, for example, that in 1923 the volume of production per wage-earner was 33 per cent greater than in 1914.

Under these conditions of constantly increasing efficiency in production a surplus of goods soon accumulates unless consumption can be increased correspondingly or unless some of the

workers are eliminated or unless working hours are shortened. While a part of the surplus of goods is consumed through increased wants of the people, the introduction of new machines constantly brings about the dismissal of workers in individual enterprises; and owing to the immobility of labor there exists a large class of unemployed who do not take their share of goods and thus decrease consumption.

This brings us to a second argument for further reduction of hours of labor. In September, 1926, William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, told President Coolidge that "labor must have shorter working hours to meet this condition of overproduction." His specific proposal at the time was for the five-day week. The plan of giving jobs to more men for shorter hours was considered as a relief measure by President Hoover's Cabinet committee in the Fall of 1930.

The progress made by labor toward more leisure in the course of a century is astounding. It is a far cry indeed from the Philadelphia journeymen cordwainers of 1806 who worked from "5 in the morning 'till 12 or 1 at night" to the workers of the boot and shoe industry who, in 1928, averaged, for the whole country, forty-nine and one-tenth hours per week; or from the loaf bread bakers of New York City in 1834, who had to "labor on an average eighteen out of the twenty-four hours of the day" to the well-organized bakers whose hours, in 1928, averaged forty-seven and four-tenths per week.

It is true that overwork still exists, but the general level has shown steady improvement from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present day. Continued reduction alone can meet the increasing problem of technological unemployment, and is as natural a result of continued improvement in machinery as it is inevitable.

## The Writing of American History

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

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WE all have an incorrigible habit of thinking of history as something that has gone by. The truth is that history creates itself every minute. It accumulates, like interest on government bonds. Genuine history is not a structure of many stories, each resting on the preceding epoch, but is simply the effort to make clear what goes on. The great Ranke, founder of the modern German historical school, used to begin

his lecture course: "I will simply tell you how it was." However simple that approach, it runs into the problem of every historical writer, which is that of choice among the things that happened. Naturally the recorder puts down what seems to him most significant, and that is why the cloistered annalists, the earliest historical recorders of Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire, embodied notices of the things that seemed to them most

interesting and memorable, such as storms, battles, miracles, funerals, great snakes and portents from the heavens.

Since the most industrious historian cannot record a thousandth of the matters that might come to his own knowledge, every historian chooses that field of human occurrences which seems to him most significant. Hence the tombstone histories composed by the Assurbanipals and the Tut-ankh-Amens and the Emperor Hadrians, who recorded lists of services to their countries and of victories over national enemies. That military basis of history has persisted all the way down to the history of the World War of 1914. To every generation in every country that passes through a great war its incidents and its results seem the most important thing that ever happened. The people of the United States have not yet lost their intense interest in the campaigns, battles, skirmishes and outpost snipings of the Revolutionary War and the Civil War, and even in the unfortunate War of 1812.

That combination of ancestor worship and glorification of military heroes has been alluring to the writers of school textbooks. Our youngsters must still simulate an interest in the Battle of Germantown and the capture of Paulus Hook in the Revolution. The Chief Magistrate of the second city in the United States is credited with causing a bonfire of school histories which failed to denounce the present British Empire for its tyranny over the American Colonies before the Revolution.

A wider view of what is significant in history has brought about the writing and teaching of so-called constitutional history, which is an important subject in American colleges and has pushed its way back into school textbooks. Such a study of political institutions is essential in the training of lawyers and legislators, but it is very hard to make it vital to boys and girls, though intelligent high

school pupils can be brought to understand their own government, national, State and local.

The numerous writers on American political and constitutional history seem unaware of the fact that during the last hundred years the United States has nourished a school of formal historians. Several of them, notably Prescott and Motley, dealt with subjects entirely outside the United States. Parkman, the greatest of all writers of American history, chose a Colonial theme. The one conspicuous writer on the underlying influences which brought about the United States of America was George Bancroft. For more than fifty years he spent most of his energies in the effort to show that the Americans were badly treated by the British down to the end of the Revolutionary War. It is remarkable how little influence any of these studious writers, always excepting Parkman, has upon the present generation of readers and writers.

The first two trained historians to think of United States history as including the half century after the founding of the Republic were Von Holst and McMaster. Von Holst, an immigrant from Europe, was one of the first of the American historians to see the immense influence on politics and government of an economic and social issue, namely, slavery. Parallel with Von Holst was McMaster, still living and active of mind, who for nearly fifty years brought out volumes of his *History of the People of the United States*, in which the social and to some extent the economic life of the Americans was the principal topic. To his mind what the people at large thought and did was as significant as the action of Congress or the Supreme Court. He is really the founder of the modern school of historians of the United States.

Beginning with the earliest Colonies and coming down through the Civil War, stands in the first rank the

work of the most eminent American historian in the twentieth century—Edward Channing. (See article by Carl Russell Fish on pages 862-867 of this magazine.) His untimely death apparently will not prevent the completion of his seventh volume, extending down to about 1900. Without being an economist or a sociologist, Channing brought into relief the social and economic forces that have made the present United States of America.

Several cooperative histories have covered the American field from the beginning of the Colonial period to the present day; for the materials are so vast and accumulate so fast that one lifetime is no longer sufficient for a historian who must base his conclusions upon a study of the sources.

No field of historical writing nowadays attracts so many would-be historians as the biographical. It is possible to bring together materials in a single volume which reveal not only the experiences and the character of a man or woman, but which place the subject against the background of the historical progress of the time. Ever since Plutarch the world has been interested in history as revealed in the character and the achievements of individuals. There is an old saying about Henry the Eighth that "King Harry loved a man." All the world loves a man, and that is why such characters as John Smith the navigator, Daniel Boone the pioneer, Andrew Jackson the Indian fighter and Theodore Roosevelt of the many experiences had so many friends in their lifetime and so many admirers in later generations.

Biography is not a new historical science. Parson Weems's imaginative life of George Washington was the best seller of its time and has gone into seventy undeserved editions. One of the most successful of modern American biographers is James Truslow Adams, who, after writing an excellent history of Massachusetts, has recently addressed himself to a study

of the Adams family of Braintree and the rest of the United States. Disclaiming kinship with those Adamses, the author points out the amazing success of a family springing from a little noted Colonial stock which in five generations has produced a Vice President, two Presidents, two holders of Cabinet offices and three Ministers to the Court of St. James's—not impossibly a fourth.

Of late the American public has been inundated by a flood of biographical volumes, the purpose of which is to destroy the reputation of the subject of the book. That system worked well with such exploiters and adventurers as Phineas T. Barnum or John C. Frémont. But the present systematic effort to pull down the images of America's great men and to drag them through the mud is no more or less than an effort to capitalize the popular interest in rogues, and particularly in unmasked rogues.

Several biographies of George Washington are now on the market, the visible aim of which is to damage the reputation of a great man admired by his countrymen for nearly two hundred years for his noble spirit. One of these writers in his three volumes makes more than seven hundred derogatory statements about Washington, nearly all based on a malicious construction of facts that are perfectly in harmony with upright character and patriotic intention. The American people absorb biographies because they bring out human character and reveal human motives. Likewise they love to see a pretender exposed; but besmirching the memory of a man who has been dead a hundred and thirty years ought not to be a source of income to an unhistorical writer.

If it took a long time to get the American people to look upon their history as a process of development of a system of popular government, it has taken them a much longer time to realize that the real history of a nation is not made up of acts of government or of governing individuals.



The political economists who began to affect the public mind about forty years ago have of late been insisting on a share in writing the national history. Certainly taxation, foreign trade, public finance, transportation, currency are part of national history, because State, local and national governments discuss and settle those questions.

The sociologists have at last claimed that the things in which they are interested are also questions of the development of government and a part of the national history. They find the controlling forces in the United States to be not simply combinations of individuals in political bodies, but the man, woman and child in the home, the workshop, the mill, the factory and the store. Fox and Schlesinger as the editors of the cooperative work on the history of American life, the late Allen Johnson as editor of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, and many teachers of American history and economics in colleges and secondary schools insist that there can be no understanding of political institutions without taking into account what people think about their own daily business.

It is just as possible to overshoot the mark on the effect of social motives as on the development of political forces. The recognized apostles of the belief that the pocket nerve is the most effective force in politics are the Beards—husband, wife and of late, their son, who in various works have set out to prove that the United States Government is founded on greed and deception. From the study of public records, Beard has proved to his own satisfaction that when the State debts were assumed by the United States Government in 1790 most of the members of the Federal Convention, which gave Congress authority over such matters, were crooks, as were also many of the members of Congress who voted in favor of the funding bills. He proves

that some of them sent out express riders to pick up blocks of securities at low figures, and that a large number made money out of these transactions. Evidently Beard did not realize that he was attacking the confidence of the present American people in the whole social and governmental structure of the early United States.

Looking a little deeper, we discover that these people whom Beard considered dirty stockjobbers were practically the same group of men who had sat in the Revolutionary Congresses, State and national. They had been Governors and members of State Legislatures during the Revolutionary War. They were duly elected by voters who had confidence in them to the House of Representatives and the Senate under the new Constitution. The question arises, If the fathers of the Constitution were a gang of robbers, how did the United States of America last over night? Some future Beard will no doubt dig out the records of the distribution of Liberty bonds during the recent war and will perhaps explain why liberty and prosperity and honesty survived both in 1790 and in 1919.

Biographical history does not mean that the writer must spend his time in trying to show that the people whom he describes are unworthy of a biography. Social history does not mean that most public men, even the most honored, have been on the make. Economic history does not mean that all the economic decisions of the past were wrong headed. Nobody can resist the truth, but a few truths are not sufficient to convict successive generations of crookedness. The history of a nation must include personality, social forces and economic principles; but it cannot destroy the confidence of the community in the average good character of men in public as well as private life. Neither biography nor history can make a nation other than it is; but the nation will survive in spite of the critic's gloom.

# Edward Channing: America's Historian

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By CARL RUSSELL FISH

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ON Jan. 5, 1931, Professor Edward Channing was at work in his study on Volume VII of his *History of the United States*. On Jan. 6 he was taken ill, and in twelve hours, on Jan. 7, he died, at the age of 74.

It was in 1905 that the first volume of Professor Channing's monumental work appeared, and with it came the announcement of his plan of covering in eight volumes the history of America from the discovery to the end of the nineteenth century. The appearance of this first volume was an event, even in an age that was less interested in American history than that which had awaited so eagerly the publication of George Bancroft's successive volumes. During the past quarter century other volumes came from Professor Channing, gradually spanning American history. The sixth reached to 1865; the seventh, which was expected to carry the story into the gay '90s, was finished only in part. It will be published with a general index of the whole. Professor Channing's work was so individual, and his care for precision and form so great, that no attempt will be made to write up his notes beyond the end of his text.

In the introduction to the first volume Professor Channing described his purpose as that of making a re-examination. From the undertaking of the project to his death there passed across his desk, in stately procession,

the sources, manuscript and printed, for each successive period, with the findings of others and the judgments they have expressed. It was his supreme pleasure to encounter a knotty problem of evidence, to summon, and if they refused to come, to pursue, the documents of legislatures, the letters of rivals, the comments of the half informed; to chuckle over their inconsistencies, to select a key, and without hurry, unworried by the distance of his goal, to compare, to add figures, to draw maps and charts, to unravel that knot, and then to assemble the elements of the next problem.

The multiplicity of histories of our country disguises for the layman the monumental nature of the task he undertook. None of the classic histories, like those of Bancroft and McMaster, cover more than half the story; Bancroft ends with the Constitution, McMaster begins with 1783. The more recent works, like the *American Nation*, divide the labor among many cooperators. Of course, no comparison runs at all with those which are rewritings rather than restudies, or even with those that reinterpret the gathered evidence. The story will and needs to be continually rewritten, added to and re-evaluated, but it is not probable that the raw material for the whole will ever again pass through the crucible of one mind. It is a work which becomes increasingly colossal with the ever-growing mass of evidence

and the constantly increasing questionnaire with which the present faces the past. To bring it to pass in even the last generation required a notable combination of ability, opportunity and character. Its value at present, and its life, depend upon the qualities of the mind which conceived and accomplished it.

Edward Channing was born in 1856, in Dorchester, Mass., now a part of Boston. His blood came through a network of intellectuals. Margaret Fuller was an aunt, William Ellery Channing a great-uncle, and his own line ran back through signers of the Declaration to "Founders" such as Simon Bradstreet and Thomas Dudley. Environment reinforced inheritance, and he could escape intellectuality only by rebellion. The Channings were always progressive but not rebels; their individuality was too strong to fear being submerged by decent conformity. When, in 1878, he was graduated from Harvard, his interest was caught by the first impulses for the scientific study of history which were then stirring. He took up history as a profession at about the earliest moment it was possible to become a professional historian—when Johns Hopkins University was laying foundations and Henry Adams was holding his seminar at Harvard. In 1880 he took his Ph. D., in 1883 he was appointed instructor in history at Harvard, and from that time he pursued the calm tenor of an academic career. In 1921 he began to receive honorary degrees, and in 1929 became emeritus.

His life was strictly professional, but he neglected none of the aspects proper to a professional historian practicing the teaching of history. A notable teacher of large classes of undergraduates, his piquant personality always attracted and held attention. Strictly speaking, one never knew what he was going to say, but one could be certain that there would be no tautology. In one respect he excelled all historical lecturers of whom

the reviewer knows. This was in bringing home to the undergraduate student critical methods of dealing with historical evidence. Colleagues often smiled at the time devoted to the authenticity of Plymouth Rock and the Washington Elm, but no students ever went out from a lecture course better equipped to deal with conflicting human evidence and with a greater feeling for the value of truth, simply because it is truth. This course made its reputation as one in Colonial history; the *Lampoon* once referred to it as a course "in the history of Massachusetts with incidental references to the other Colonies." In fact, it was always closely connected with Professor Channing's workshop, and after the appearance of the first volumes of his history it began to move downstream, so that its connection with his current problems was always maintained. Doubtless his own syntheses became clear-cut from this constant necessity of presenting his results to young minds.

He had graduate students constantly about him, students whom he gruffly boxed into the paths of historical rectitude. He always regarded them as individuals to be trained into self-sufficing historians, never as an organized band to cooperate in any lesser task than the elucidation of American history each according to his own individuality. As a result, he sent out many leaders but did not create a school. It often came as a surprise to these students when some wise counsel on personal problems threw into a new light the cutting criticism of previous encounters. On later meetings one always found that his personal interest had kept track of these careers, and that his affection and his pride followed his students. As years went by and he found so many who had the acumen to see beneath his New England exterior, he mellowed like a ripening prickly pear.

Individualist as he was, Professor Channing, even with a strain of Rhode Island individualism, was primarily a

Massachusetts individualist with a powerful moderating sense of responsibility. As one of the first of our scientific historians he acted as if he felt, though doubtless he himself would have stressed contributing motives of pecuniary gain, under obligation to broaden the influence of the new study. He was active and influential as a member of the Harvard faculty. He cooperated with experienced secondary school teachers in providing textbooks. In collaboration with his colleague, Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, he edited the *Old South Leaflets*, to bring the basic sources for American history, with some critical apparatus, into the schools and before the public. Most important, however, a result of the same collaboration, was the publication in 1896 of the *Guide to the Study of American History*. In 1912 this was revised with the further cooperation of Professor F. J. Turner. Laborious drudgery, their work, considering its scope and in the existing state of scholarship in American history, could not give its authors the satisfaction and acclaim which their colleague, Professor Gross, could find in the precision and relative definitiveness of his bibliographical work on the English gilds. For the building up of such scholarship, however, timeliness was more important than perfection, and few books stand in so significant a relationship to any scientific study as does this to the development of research and teaching in American history. Harvard followed the beginnings of Johns Hopkins, taking the next steps firmly, cleanly and effectively.

In the meantime Professor Channing was never long absent from the desk which was the anvil of his own research. He was one of a busy group of cooperators and competitors, stirring each other by emulation and criticism, John Fiske, Albert Bushnell Hart and Justin Winsor, each with an individual point of view and an emphasis on particular methods. Soon chips began to fly, modest and with-

out apparent relationship. He shared in Justin Winsor's great *Narrative and Critical History*, contributing articles as diverse as on the *Companions of Columbus*, and the *South in the Revolutionary War*. In 1886 he brought out a fascinating little paper on *The Narragansett Planters, a Study of Causes*. He broke his lance with the advocates of Teutonic origins over the New England town and wrote *Town and County Government in English Colonies of North America*. Well done as were these various articles and significant as each might be, they gave collectively somewhat an impression of scholastic dilettantism until at the age of 49 he brought out the first volume of a complete work into which all these and many other such studies fell and which called for all the various techniques in which they had given practice.

The advantage of thus deferring the beginning of one's intended contribution until all one's powers are ripened and trained is obvious, and is particularly desirable in the social sciences. The gamble with fate is magnificent, though perhaps less so than the wisdom of thus ordering one's mind at 50 to adjust itself to a thirty-year task.

The basic impression that the volumes give is that here is the work of a scholar disinterestedly pursuing his profession. In many years of experience I find that this is as obvious to sophomores as it is to reviewers. There is quite plainly no such stress in proving a point as when Gibbon discredits the Christian religion or Bancroft exalts the American democracy, nor is there a philosophy of history. Here are facts as objectively displayed as the results of laboratory tests. They may be used forever to build new combinations. This should indeed be expected of a scientific historian, but Professor Channing also freed himself from another weakness which is all too common among scholars. He not only applied his tests with fearless independence and re-



ardless of consequence, but he did not play up his own results. Before these volumes were published he was widely known as an iconoclast, delighting in pulling down popular delusions and pet traditions. It was expected that he would take unholy joy in emphasizing his ravaging of the accepted canons of American history. Naturally, many long-cherished versions disappeared under his microscope, but he puffed them away with slight gesture. When his new examination confirmed old views, he records the old. Plymouth Rock and the Washington Elm and the roster of the Boston Tea Party occupy no undue proportion. They were emphasized in student lectures because of the methods their study involved; in his book he was not teaching methods, but exposing results. Only the very well informed is able to discern what is new, but every one may rest assured that the whole is original. Monographs by others were used and freely cited, but the facts they presented were reweighed and the conclusions are frequently different. To a large extent the "re-examination" confirms the old tradition; the difference is that, like modern St. Paul's, the structure has been imbued with permanence. It is a scholar's work, devoid of sensationalism, which laymen may use with confidence.

With confidence, that is, if they grasp the distinction between the scientist speaking from proof and the author expressing his opinions. In his introduction Professor Channing says: "The time and place of one's birth and breeding affect the judgment, and the opportunity for error is frequent." Half the pleasure of the narrative comes from the comments. They are the comments of a man full of knowledge of history and of the men of the world in which we live, full of likes and dislikes; and at times a little impish. He obviously, for instance, did not like Franklin, but, on the other hand, this did not prevent his, rather grudgingly, taking Frank-

lin's side in the peace negotiations of 1783. Describing Washington, he said "he stalked impassive through his world, inspiring awe and trust wherever he went."

In a larger way personality reveals itself in the selection of facts. Professor Channing had plainly not been swept off his feet by the school of frontier historians who in his lifetime put such emphasis on the importance of the westward movement and its repercussions in the East and throughout the world. He knew that the West was there. Perhaps it distressed him. In consequence he redoubled his investigations and, while omitting some facts that a comprehensive history should portray, presented new evidence that the East, and perhaps particularly Massachusetts, was not left empty. Southerners will not be altogether pleased with his handling of Southern problems, and yet his book is a marked advance over that of Mr. Rhodes. He treated Southerners as equals, without condescension, and he really understood the South better than his predecessors, even when not approving of it. He seems to the writer, when dealing in the sixth volume with questions such as the causes of secession and of the failure of what he denominates the "War for Southern Independence," which have no provable answer, to have taken too narrow a view. Yet phrases like the "War for Southern Independence" and statements that the great mass of the white inhabitants of the Cotton States sincerely believed that they were in danger of persecution and of disaster and that their "honor demanded independence" have already acted as a stimulus to renewed research.

The scope of the work, as defined in the introduction, was political, military, institutional, industrial and social. It was to be the story of an evolution, and its drama was to come from the struggle of union and particularism. Chronology was to be present in that Americans were to be shown in

the light by which each generation lived. No one of these factors was forgotten and there was not even evident in the selection any philosophy as to which is a key to the others, as to whether history should be studied and presented from the point of view of economics or politics or social life. Nevertheless, whether one follows a philosophy or not, in an attack on the whole past of a people there must be some strategy. The point of Professor Channing's attack was the final conflict of these forces in the struggles of powerful men who represented them. The first impression of the book, therefore, is that it is political history chiefly, the inner history of politics, without its panoply. The reader, however, is well provided with material for understanding that for which each individual and group stood, and the social and economic conflicts which personified themselves in men. Of course, this centring of interest in the leading figures of each period is as important in presentation as it is from the point of view of study. The narrative lives and moves.

On the other hand, there are not many pictures of the civilizations and cultures involved. Professor Channing was familiar with the controlling environments in which his characters moved and did not betray them into unnatural acts, but he took for granted in his readers a similar general knowledge. He was not revealing the story of the United States to the inhabitants of Mars but to Americans; perhaps he was chiefly interested in educated Americans. One should not, however, philosophize the motives of one who did not philosophize his own work. To be candid, Professor Channing liked episodes, and especially knotty ones, and that liking to some extent controlled his presentation. After all, why do so many historians like detective stories if there is not something kindred in the two arts? Professor Channing was a natural-

born detective with an equipment of scientific technique equal to that of Sherlock Holmes and not devoid of that hunch which makes the amateur so popular.

It is this love of episodes which makes the treatment so concrete. The stamp act and the other repressive and oppressive measures of the British Government concerning the Colonies have been denounced and defended for 150 years by a wealth of ability and legal and philosophical lore and in the light of all sorts of conflicts of interest and sentiment. Professor Channing asked how much did the taxes in question amount to in pounds, shillings and pence. He found out. It was more than had been supposed. Every one has known the basic facts of Hamilton's financial system. Professor Channing wished to know the effect of this new national system on speculation in general and on some individuals in particular. He found out. These studies in figures are indeed a feature of his later volumes. In treating of the War of 1812 he puts New England in a better light than have some historians by listing her contributions. The Hartford Convention he discusses lightly—too lightly, most historians would think. There is nothing pro-New England, however, in his rise of the abolition movement.

With his razor-edge technique and his matured powers, he at length reached the era of his own first memories. Every one interested in American history will be keen to see Volume VII. In the case of most historians who have pursued their task so far one could plot the curve of their general point of view. In his case the coming volume will remain an enigma until made public. He was no more consistent than is life. Except for his professed belief in evolution, formed in his college course, when evolution was the chief basis of intellectual discussion, when Henry Adams was trying to be thrilled by it and John Fiske was thrilling and shocking his

audiences by it, he was bound by no theory or goal. He recorded what seemed to him significant, and his interests were sufficiently wide to make his selection unpredictable. One can be sure only that the quality will be maintained.

Historians will remain grateful to Professor Channing for the many definitive contributions to knowledge which lie scattered all through his work. For many years they will take his re-examination as a starting point for their studies on all those subjects which he has treated. He himself supplies material for a running critique by revealing his personality as the narrative proceeds. It is this personality which will give the chief pleas-

ure to the general reader. Any one who enjoys reviewing the history of the country in company with a man of high intelligence, compelling love of truth and a dry humor will find increased zest in the fact that he was very human and was not afraid to express with vigor his own reactions to things the truth of which cannot be determined. It will be a long time before the whole story will be told on a scale so large by any one whose knowledge of all its facts is fresh and vital, and who, in consequence, has reactions as personal to the Boston of 1630 and the Philadelphia of 1776 as to the men and things of his own days. If it is never done again, this is a worthy telling.

## Britain's Military Problem In India

By J. F. C. FULLER

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[When the Round Table Conference on India on Jan. 19 ended its deliberations with a statement by Prime Minister MacDonald of the plans and policy of the British Government for transferring to the Indians themselves the rights and responsibilities of administering their own affairs, it was made clear that defense would be among the subjects that would be reserved to the Governor General, and that arrangements would be made to place in his hands the powers necessary for its administration. Earlier in the deliberations of the conference the sub-committee on defense accepted the idea of replacing British officers in the Indian Army by Indians, and it was also proposed that an officers' training school be established in India. In the following article the military problems involved in Indian self-government are analyzed by a leading British authority.]

IN Volume II of the *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission* (the Simon Commission) it is stated that "one condition \* \* \* of a self-governing India must be its ability to maintain without the aid of British troops the essential of all good government, viz.: public peace and tranquillity." Yet the authors of this report adumbrate in the vaguest way the possibilities of creating a national army in India. The reason for this reticence is undoubtedly that, though a spirit of nationalism does today exist among the educated classes, the means of incarnating this spirit in the masses of the Indian people does not, and until it does it is foolish to talk



MAP OF INDIA

of dominion status. Nationalism may be stimulated by ideals, but to create a nation demands something more substantial than entrancing dreams.

The British population in India is numerically insignificant; the native population is immense and more heterogeneous than in any other part of the world, with its scores of races, languages and religions. Worse still, from the military point of view, the bulk of the people is divided into two diametrically hostile camps. On one side stand 216,000,000 war-fearing Hindus and on the other 70,000,000 war-loving Moslems. Differences of religion divide the whole land, which is inhabited by peoples in every stage of social development, some but emerging from the stone age.

In the past and equally so today Great Britain's military responsibilities have been vast. In fact, the whole

of her military organization at home and abroad has been and is pivoted on the defense of India. This includes the safety of 6,000 miles of coast line, the control and defense of the northwest frontier, the maintenance of internal security, which is mainly concerned in preventing Mohammedan-Hindu feuds, and the establishment of peaceful conditions between the Indian States and British India. Before India can become an independent, self-governing country all these responsibilities will have to be assumed by a national army, and before she can become a dominion all except coastal defense must be provided for.

Though the northwest is the most important frontier today, it must not be forgotten that India also possesses a northern and a northeast frontier. It is generally overlooked that Nepal lies on the southern slopes of the



Himalaya Mountains and that Assam may one day become an important gateway between India and China. If China should settle her internal difficulties and develop into an industrialized nation, in time the northeast frontier is likely to become as important as the northwest. Such importance lies, however, in the future, but not so in the case of Nepal, which, though a small country, contains at least 2,000,000 potential fighting men. The warlike propensities of the Gurkhas are well known, and Nepal lies alongside Bengal, a rich province and one inhabited by talkers and not by fighters. Similarly with the northwest frontier, here also is to be found a hardy and pugnacious people. Since 1850 there have been over seventy expeditions against the northwest frontier tribesmen, who are ever waiting for disturbance in India as an opportunity for them to descend from their mountain villages and carry fire and sword through the plains of the Indus. In this area peace never reigns. In the four years after the close of the World War, despite the elaborate British system of defense, the tribesmen carried out 1,315 raids, in which 578 civilians were killed, 669 wounded and 981 kidnapped, while between Peshawar and Quetta property to the value of \$875,000 was looted.

As regards the maintenance of internal security, the one great difficulty is impartiality. In a Moslem village or town a Mohammedan policeman or soldier cannot help favoring those who belong to his creed, and so too a Hindu in a Hindu town or village. As the population is generally mixed, in order to maintain law and order it is essential to have a referee. The British soldier is a neutral, and is under no suspicion of favoring Hindus against Mohammedans, or *vice versa*.

The national force that will be required for internal security and frontier defense will certainly not be less than that employed today. With half Asia in a turmoil, Russia threatening the stability of all organized coun-

tries, and the spirit of nationalism surging through the East, it would seem probable that the present military forces will have to be not only increased but completely modernized and provided with large quantities of arms and munitions which are not manufactured in India. Today mere numbers are of little account in war; a well-equipped modern army would have nothing to fear from an Indian horde equipped with arms which India's arsenals can today provide.

The military forces now stationed in the Indian Empire are divided into two main categories—the British Army and the Indian. The first comprises some 60,000 officers and men and the second 156,000, with 34,000 reservists. The first is purely a mercenary army and the second has no resemblance to a national force, because all its senior and most of its junior officers are British and many of its men are recruited from outside India, such as the Gurkhas from Nepal and the Pathans from the northwest frontier. The Indian army is also largely a mercenary force. These two armies yearly cost the country about \$205,000,000, a large sum for India, but one which can scarcely be reduced, since the army in India is always in a chronic state of unpreparedness for war. This military organization can in no possible way be juggled into a foundation for a national army. Though the British have policed India efficiently they have as yet done nothing toward building up a national defense force. Even if India were inhabited by a homogeneous people with no religious differences, it is doubtful if, the liabilities being what they are, such a force could be created within twenty or even thirty years.

Moreover, such an army could be recruited only from those provinces which are inhabited by fighting races. All of them lie in the north of India, and the bulk are not predominantly Hindu. Of the total number of combatants in the Indian Army, 140,600 are drawn from the Northwest Frontier

Province, Kashmir, Punjab, Rajputana, United Provinces and Nepal, with a total population of 91,000,000; while 15,400 come from Central India, Bihar and Orissa, Bengal, Assam, Burma, Central Provinces, Bombay, Hyderabad, Madras and Mysore, with a total population of 225,000,000. The Punjab and Nepal (essentially non-Hindu) provide 62 per cent of the recruits of the whole army, while Bihar and Orissa, Central India and Central Provinces supply a total of 600, and Bengal none. In the war it was much the same; the Punjab and the United Provinces with a population of 70,000,000 enlisted 492,000 recruits, whilst Bengal and Orissa, with a population of 86,000,000, enlisted 14,000. More remarkable still, Bengal, with a population of 48,000,000, recruited 2,000 men less than Ajmir, with a population of 500,000. In the four years of the war the Sikhs, from a total population of 2,500,000, furnished 90,000 combatant recruits, that is, one-eighth of the Indian total. If a national army is to be raised it would consist of Punjabis, Mohammedans, Pathans, Sikhs, Jats, Rajputs and Mahrattas. Is it likely that these men would honor and obey a government composed mainly of Bengali babus, Bombay bunnias and Madrasi pleaders?

Though there are certain warlike races in India, the bulk of the people is pacific and totally unfit for military work. The war casualties show this clearly: "The death casualties for all India with 320,000,000 of people," writes Sir Michael O'Dwyer, "were less than those of Canada with her 8,000,000, of Australia with only 5,000,000, and only double those of New Zealand with little over 1,000,000 people." These figures are, however, somewhat misleading, for more than half the Indian casualties must be debited to one province—the Punjab. Thus, from a fighting point of view, this province is worth the rest of India put together.

The Indian National Congress has never faced this question with any sincerity. Gandhi, it is true, has on more

than one occasion, in spite of his love of non-resistance and non-violence, demanded the repeal of the arms act, which he considers has reduced India "to a state bordering on cowardly helplessness." But this act is enforced because without it there would have been an unending guerrilla war between Hindus and Mohammedans. The Nehru report (report of the committee appointed by the All-Parties Congress, 1928) scarcely touches upon this subject. In its introduction a recommendation is made to transfer the control over the Indian Army to the suggested National Government. Obviously the British Army in India cannot be handed over to an Indian Legislature, and without this army the men of the Indian Army could only be transferred because the officers are mostly British. Such an army, a vast mob of officerless men without a British Army to keep it in check, recruited from the fighting races and in no way a national force, would overturn any National Government in a fortnight.

The authors of this report quote Professor Keith, who said: "Self-government without an effective Indian Army is an impossibility, and no amount of protests or demonstrations or denunciations of the Imperial Government can avail to alter that fact." Commenting on this observation, the authors of the report say: "This is true, but we do not accept the constitutional position that without an Indian or dominion army India cannot obtain dominion status. In the first place the Indian Army has not to be created; it exists there already. In the next place historically the position taken by our critics is not correct."

The first of these statements is obviously incorrect. No true Indian Army exists; in its place there is an army manned mainly by Mohammedans, Sikhs and Gurkhas and officered by Europeans. The second statement is equally beside the point, for the authors confound the two duties of every national army, namely, to maintain law and order within the country and

to repel a foreign invasion. Their contention is that historically "none of the colonies was in a position to assume its defense at the time when a self-governing status was granted to it." This is correct, but it begs the question; for it is equally true that no single dominion today is capable of repelling a first-class power. The whole meaning of empire is based on this fact. The truth is that no British colony became a self-governing dominion until its military forces were capable of maintaining law and order within its frontiers; then only were the British regular units withdrawn.

In turn the Simon Report (Report of the Indian Statutory Commission) offers no solution, for all its authors are to point out difficulties: "We appreciate the fact, however, that in the end a self-governing India can only hope to function with reasonable prospect of success if it can command military forces of its own. \* \* \* One condition, therefore, of a self-governing India must be its ability to maintain without the aid of British troops the essential of all good government, viz.: public peace and tranquillity." The only suggestion made is that India might be encouraged to organize, train and equip certain military and naval forces of its own; but the authors add: "This involves technical questions into which we do not enter."

The first and most important of these technical questions is the raising of a corps of Indian officers. With this aim in view vacancies for ten (in future twenty) Indian cadets are yearly offered in England at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst and a few at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich and the Royal Air Force College at Cranwell. Yet it was not until November, 1929, that for the first time "the number of Indian candidates qualified for Sandhurst exceeded the number of vacancies offered." With reference to this question an interesting point is mentioned by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who, writ-

ing in 1925, informs us that "in India in the three years 1922-24 forty-five candidates were selected for the Indian Civil Service. Of these forty-one were Hindus; there was not a single European or Mohammedan. On the other hand, the Indians admitted to Sandhurst are almost all Sikhs or Mohammedans. So that in the future the divorce between the Hindus holding political power and the Mohammedans and Sikhs in the army will become even more marked than at present."

There is yet another difficulty, namely, climate, which saps the vitality of all people living in India and makes them fatalists and thinkers rather than workers and warriors. The power of each invader in turn was maintained just so long as a flow of new blood came from outside. In the case of the Mongol Empire, once Afghanistan was closed and the Moguls were cut off from Persia and Central Asia, they and their armies rapidly deteriorated. Even today the Indians are apparently not fully acclimatized, and perhaps the climate is such that this is impossible. Responsibility is always shirked and decision left in the hands of God.

Such in brief is India's military problem, and a problem which would seem to defy solution. "To withdraw the British Government from a country like India," wrote Sir John Seeley fifty years ago, "which has been dependent on it, and which we have made incapable of depending on anything else, would be the most inexcusable of all conceivable crimes and might cause the most stupendous of all conceivable calamities." Yet this is what the Indian Nationalists are urging the British to do. Indian Nationalists may talk of independence and British statesmen may suggest federation; yet these and dominion status "are such stuff as dreams are made on," and, until a national army is created, are not worth the breath that is being expended on their discussion.

# Farm Machinery and the Industrial Revolution

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By HAROLD UNDERWOOD FAULKNER  
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ONE HUNDRED years ago, in the midsummer of 1831, Cyrus Hall McCormick first demonstrated to an astonished group of farmers in Rockbridge County, Virginia, a crude horse-power machine which actually cut ripe wheat and threw it on a platform from which it might be raked into piles. This reaper, which Cyrus and his father had laboriously constructed in the blacksmith shop on their Virginia farm, did not, of course, mark the beginning either of scientific farming or of modern agricultural machinery. It was not even the first reaper. William T. Hutchinson in his recent life of McCormick\* notes seventeen such machines constructed in Great Britain and the United States between 1786 and 1831, and there were other inventors in America, including the famous Obed Hussey, who were simultaneously working on similar projects. This crude contraption, painfully manipulated by McCormick under the hot Virginia sun, is, however, significant as the first of those McCormick reapers which within a decade and a half were easily to outdistance all rivals. More than any other piece of machinery, not excepting Whitney's cotton gin, the McCormick reaper substituted machinery for hand labor on the farm and made large-scale agriculture possible.

The American farmer of 1831, like his descendant today, was confronted with problems difficult to solve. Although the industrial revolution was rapidly creating in Europe and on the American seaboard teeming cities which provided a market for agricultural products, transportation facilities were so inadequate that the back-country farmer was little benefited. Scientific agriculture was making progress, and the new knowledge was being spread by county fairs and farm journals, but it had not gone far enough to teach the tidewater and piedmont farmer how to renew his worn-out land. True, there was plenty of virgin soil to the west, but distance from market, inadequate transportation facilities and lack of labor were all problems which a plethora of land did not solve.

The reaper did not overcome all the difficulties of the farmer, but it did help him to meet two important handicaps—the high cost of labor and the necessity for speed. For over two centuries American agriculture had been held back by a scarcity of labor, a scarcity which was hardly affected by the large immigration of Irish and Germans in the three decades preceding the Civil War. Many of the immigrants, and of those who turned to agriculture the more intelligent, speedily acquired some of the easily obtainable land and set up as independent farmers. "Remember," said

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\**Cyrus Hall McCormick*. By William T. Hutchinson, New York: The Century Company, 1930. \$5.



the Irish traveler, Thomas Mooney, to his countrymen in 1850, "you can, as soon as you get into a regular employment, save the price of an acre and a half of the finest land in the world every week, and in less than a year you will have nearly enough to start for the West and take up an eighty-acre farm which will be your own forever." As long as such a situation lasted, labor was bound to be high.

The necessity for speed was as important as the cost of labor. Throughout the world the farmer was faced by the fact that from the ripening of the wheat to the commencement of shelling he had but a week or ten days; the size of his acreage depended on the amount he could harvest in this short space of time. This seasonal pressure for labor was due largely to the lack of effective harvesting machinery. In other operations of agriculture, such as cultivating, threshing and hay making, horse power had already been applied, but these implements were of but little use until the intermediate step of harvesting could be achieved mechanically. In 1830 six laborers, well inspired with frontier whisky, might harvest two acres of wheat a day; a decade later, with even the first crude McCormick reaper, eight men and one or two horses could harvest ten acres a day. The cost of harvesting was cut a third, and the amount of land which could be put under cultivation was increased many-fold. As in industry one invention led to another, so in agriculture the McCormick reaper hastened other improvements. The whole tempo of agricultural production and the speed of the westward movement was accelerated.

In considering the effectiveness with which Hargreaves, Arkwright, Watt and Stephenson overturned medieval economy it is easy to neglect the influence of agricultural machinery upon modern civilization. As Northwestern Europe in the twentieth century turned definitely from agriculture to industry, her population

doubled. These added millions were sustained by food which came chiefly from the new lands opened in the United States and British colonies—it was garnered by the McCormick reaper. Considered broadly, the industrial revolution was dependent on the agricultural revolution, and the key invention around which the whole swung was McCormick's horse-power reaper rather than Hargreaves' spinning jenny or Arkwright's power loom. The reaper more than any single mechanical invention made possible the increase of Europe's population and provided a market for the products of the myriad looms and forges. Modern machinery production was, of course, possible without new agricultural machinery, but without it a market would have been lacking. In a stony, hilly back valley of Virginia, isolated from the main current of world affairs, a Scotch-Irish farmer with a turn for mechanics had built a machine upon which a modern industrial society might rest.

Just as Hargreaves' spinning jenny set in motion those tendencies which were to shift industry from the hand to the machine and from the home to the factory, so the reaper was the forerunner of the "Marsh Harvester" and the "Appleby Twine-binder." These further stimulated influences which were to lead to innumerable inventions and improvements in agricultural machinery. Large-scale production now became feasible, and with it a saving of labor and time. The crude McCormick horse-drawn reaper which did little more than cut the wheat was the ancestor of the high-powered gasoline machine that in a single operation can cut, thresh and bag the wheat for market. The Department of Agriculture estimated that between 1855 and 1894 the amount of human labor required to produce one bushel of corn declined from 4 hours and 34 minutes to 41 minutes because of the invention of the gang plow, disk harrow, horse-drawn corn planter and other inventions. Be-

tween 1830 and 1894 the human labor required for a bushel of wheat declined from 3 hours and 3 minutes to 10 minutes. This sort of thing in a large measure explains why the proportion of the gainfully employed population engaged in agriculture declined from 83.1 per cent in 1820 to 26 per cent in 1920, and why from 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 of the farm population have abandoned agriculture in the last decade. The exodus of the rural population has been due not alone to agricultural depression but in part to the fact that fewer people can maintain and even increase the production of farm commodities.

That the influence of the new farm machinery has been epoch-making, the historian readily concedes, but he finds it more difficult to determine just how far it has benefited mankind. On the one hand it has obviously released millions of men for other work. Furthermore, as the gasoline engine and electricity have taken the place of horses, the new machinery has set free millions of acres hitherto used in raising fodder for the production of other commodities—not, however, an unmixed blessing in these years of overproduction. Machinery has enormously increased the output per capita, enlarged the real income of proprietors and the real wages of labor, and eliminated much drudgery from farm life. On the adverse side, farm machinery has brought two important results which also have been associated with industry under capitalism since the industrial revolution; it has increasingly separated the owner of the machinery from the laborer, and it has resulted in overproduction. This second effect has gone far to counteract the financial gain brought by the improved machinery.

The cost of the new machinery and the declining margin of profits from overproduction, as well as other factors, have made it increasingly difficult for the man with little wealth to engage profitably in farming. "Be-

tween 1900 and 1920," declares the Department of Agriculture, "the acreage of rented land increased from 34.2 per cent of all farm land (excluding land operated by managers) to 39.3 per cent, while the proportion of the improved land increased from 37.5 to 43.8 per cent, and the proportion of the rented real estate increased from 35.4 to 43.6 per cent of the total valuation of farm real estate." It should be noted in passing that these were the only decades since the Civil War in which the farmers enjoyed a reasonable prosperity. This trend toward tenancy may not be entirely bad, for the elimination of the shiftless marginal farmer is probably an economic gain. Likewise, in many cases tenancy may be a step toward independence as well as a slipping back into dependence. The fact remains, however, that the gradual decay of a sturdy independent yeomanry is not a prospect pleasing to those lovers of the old-fashioned political democracy or the upholders of the beneficence of *laissez-faire* economics. A year or so ago a prominent American historian pointed out in a widely read article that the average farmer today has but two options: he may go to the city, "seek a place under the labor roof and endeavor to exploit his fellows left behind, or he must stick to his dunghill, grip his peasant's hoe and doff his dirty cap to superiors who command him—the rôle twenty generations of his forebears played on the ancient hills and plains of Europe."\* Truly not a pleasant prospect.

Overproduction, the great curse under which the American farmer has suffered since the close of the World War, is not a new phenomenon in the history of American agriculture. In the early decades, before transportation facilities had been perfected, it was likely to be a problem on the frontier farm. The expanding Eastern market and the demand from Europe, however, along with the building of

\*Dodd, W. E., "Shall Our Farmers Become Peasants?" *Century*, May, 1928, Vol. CXVI, No. 1.

canals and railroads tended to minimize this difficulty. The homestead act of 1862, the overexpansion during the Civil War, the wide introduction of the new machinery beginning with the decade of the '60s, and the rapid occupation of the trans-Mississippi West simultaneously with the opening of vast areas in other parts of the world, brought a deluge of foodstuffs far beyond the needs of the market. From the panic of 1873 to the end of the century the farmer struck right and left in a blind effort to improve his situation. He tried railroad regulation, anti-trust laws, inflation of the currency and improvement in the technique of political democracy. These crusades brought much benefit, but they did not solve the fundamental problem; overproduction still remained. Just as the farmer appeared to have lost his major battle in the Democratic defeat of 1896, the situation suddenly took a turn for the better. Demand had caught up with supply, and in the first decade of the twentieth century the price of agricultural products increased 46 per cent, the average value of the crops 66.8 and the value of farm lands more than doubled. Then came the World War with its overexpansion, followed by declining markets, and the farmer was again experiencing the distress of the '70s, '80s and '90s.

The situation of the American farmer today is, in some respects, not unlike that after the close of the Napoleonic Wars. With production speeded up to meet a large foreign demand, that market was suddenly cut away from under him. Since the close of the World War the United States has experienced both good and bad times, but in neither prosperity nor deflation has the domestic market been sufficient to save the farmer. In the decade after the close of the War of 1812 Henry Clay proposed to help the agriculturist by means of a protective tariff which would promote the development of industrial communities and provide a market for agricultural

commodities. The "American System" of Clay and his followers, which resulted in the swing toward a high tariff in the years 1816 to 1828 may have helped the farmer then, but such a program offers little today. The growth of industrialization and urbanization is more rapid than a century ago with little or no effect upon agricultural overproduction. Steadily mounting tariffs serve rather to cut off potential markets for farm commodities than to protect the American farmer from foreign competition. The recent agricultural legislation of the Federal Government holds out some hope in its encouragement of cooperation among the farmers, but pegging the grain market and hoarding wheat and palliatives that may or may not slightly relieve the patient do not get at the root of overproduction or of any major agricultural problem.

In the last analysis American agriculture is today in much the same position that American industry finds itself. There is scarcely a major industry in the country that is not overbuilt and capable of producing even in periods of the greatest prosperity a supply greater than the demand. Machinery, then, in both industry and agriculture has brought overproduction. Many of the adjustments forced upon manufacture by the industrial revolution have, of course, been made, but the tendency to overproduction with recurring periods of inflation and deflation is a problem still unsolved. Not only is agriculture today faced by the same problem of overproduction, but it is still in the phase of acute competition from which industry, to a certain extent, has gradually emerged during the consolidation period of the last forty years. In this period of bitter agricultural competition the fittest will survive—those who are in control of the best land and with resources to command the services of the more expensive machinery; the rest are rapidly being driven from the land or reduced to tenancy.

When American history and world history is more discriminatingly written, the name of Cyrus Hall McCormick is destined to occupy an important place. More than any other single person he has been responsible for the application of machinery to agriculture, and he remains one of the most significant of the host of technicians and executives who have fed to bloated size that Frankenstein-machine production. Unlike many mechanical geniuses McCormick was as much at home in the thick of the industrial battle as in the workshop or laboratory. Descended from Colonial Scotch-Irish ancestry on both sides of the family, over six feet in height and endowed with superb physical powers, he was at his best in the long fight which he relentlessly carried on in behalf of his patents and the superiority of his machines. It was eight years after McCormick had invented his reaper before he was fully convinced that his life work lay in the perfection and sale of this machine. When, at the age of 30, this was fully evident, there was no cessation and no quarter given. Obed Hussey and his reaper were already in the field, but McCormick each season rushed up and down the country, attending county fairs and demonstrating, wherever an opportunity offered, the superiority of his machine. With greater business capacity than Hussey, he accumulated capital more quickly, and with a far greater vision of the future he gradually concentrated his manufacturing

efforts west of the Alleghanies. The failure of both to win a renewal of their patent rights in 1848 was to McCormick only a new challenge; his rivals were now more numerous, but his skill and energy in meeting new competitors seemed to increase. During the early '50s he successfully invaded Europe, returning to America to continue the unceasing round of public exhibitions and court battles.

Although McCormick continued with tireless energy to study and improve his machines, his most important work from 1850 until his death in 1884 was in the field of business. As an executive and entrepreneur he ranks with the leaders in American industrial history. So effective were his labors that by 1860 the American farmer had accepted his invention, and in the strain of the Civil War his machines made it possible to meet the increased demand for foodstuffs in the North and in Europe. Thus he played indirectly an important rôle in the ultimate victory of the North and in forcing the British Government to maintain a neutral position. Momentous as was its significance during the Civil War, the influence of the reaper has been equally significant in molding the economic and social development of subsequent years. Whether the American farmer of 1931, however, should make a pilgrimage of thanksgiving to the Virginia hillside where the first McCormick reaper cut a swath of wheat 100 years ago is by no means certain.



# The Post-War Depression In Agriculture

By A. B. GENUNG

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THE world has been experiencing an acute depression in agriculture for nearly eleven years, which many persons have been ready to explain on the grounds of overproduction. That is a simple explanation which in the case of one or two seasons, or of two or three commodities, may be an accurate one, but as this world-wide depression has continued, running into perhaps the worst year of all in 1930, overproduction fails to provide a complete explanation.

At least two basic factors have played a dominant part in the agricultural depression; a third has had more recent and temporary importance. The first of these has been the near revolution in the technique of agricultural production in several leading, surplus-producing countries. The second and most important has been the drastic world-wide decline in the general commodity price level. The third, which has been important since about the middle of 1929, was the turn of the business cycle.

Stimulated by the war and by related circumstances, remarkable changes in the technique of agricultural production have been made during the last fifteen years, particularly in the United States and Canada, and, to some extent, in Australia, New Zealand and Argentina, as well as in Western Europe. These changes have increased the productive capacity of

each worker, especially in respect to wheat, cotton, sugar and dairy products. There have been other and more general effects, of course, but in the bearing of world supply on price these commodities may be cited as representative. This increase, applied to large new areas of land both in North America and in the Southern Hemisphere, made it possible to expand wheat production, for example, rapidly and at lower prices than had hitherto stimulated such expansion. The same thing happened to cotton.

It has been estimated that wheat harvested with a sickle and threshed with a flail required thirty-five to fifty hours of labor per acre, having a yield of fifteen bushels. The introduction of the cradle (a scythe with fingers that catch the grain when cut) made possible a saving of about ten hours per acre. Then came the binder, which on our Great Plains and in Western Canada required only four to five hours of labor per acre to harvest and to thresh from the shock with a stationary thresher. But—and here is the real revolution—an average of three-quarters of an hour is sufficient today with a tractor and combine. As a result, with a profitable price, the important producing countries expanded the area of wheat from a 1909-13 average of 204,000,000 acres to about 245,000,000 acres in 1929. World production, excluding Russia and China, increased

from a little under 3,000,000,000 bushels in 1920-21 to nearly 4,000,000,000 bushels in 1928-29. This was somewhat faster than the increased consumption, and supplies therefore have tended to accumulate during the last three years.

Likewise, with good prices for cotton between 1921 and 1926, the acreage of cotton in the United States alone expanded from 30,509,000 acres in 1921 to 47,087,000 acres in 1926 and the crop from 7,954,000 bales to 17,977,000 bales. The world production of cotton jumped from 15,400,000 bales in 1921 to 28,400,000 in 1926. After the disastrous price slump in 1926 world production dropped off to 24,000,000 bales, but has since increased to about 26,200,000 bales in 1930. The increase in cotton production also was faster than consumption and fairly broke the market in 1926.

There is overproduction of wheat in the world at present, overproduction of cotton in 1926, and the annual carryover has been large since that time, and overproduction of sugar. But in the case of only a few specific agricultural commodities is overproduction a factor in the depression. There is no evidence of a general overproduction in other commodities as there is in the present case of wheat. The world sees temporary surpluses as well as temporary shortages nearly every season, but the great improvement in methods of production has already affected the wheat situation for more than one season. This must be given some weight as a factor in so far as it has brought more than a temporary accumulation of wheat supplies, and to a lesser degree cotton, sugar and possibly milk products.

The major factor underlying the agricultural depression has been the precipitate and world-wide decline in the general price level—the broad, sweeping fall in all prices. Three times in modern history the world has gone through a post-war period of deflation and falling commodity prices. Following the Napoleonic wars prices

in general declined approximately one-half from 1814 to 1824. After the Civil War prices declined nearly one-half in the years from July, 1864, to July, 1874. Since the World War prices of all commodities at wholesale have again declined one-half from 1920 to the present. Such a drastic, sweeping fall in all prices is not to be associated with the production of any agricultural commodity. Prices have plunged downward, as in 1921 and again in 1930, irrespective even of the curtailed total output of commodities. Such periods are periods of general deflation and the world has been going through one of these major deflation periods since about 1920.

Certain things happen in fairly regular sequence in times of deflation and falling prices. When the general price level declined violently in 1920, prices of all raw materials and especially agricultural products suffered first and worst. In each succeeding decline producers of raw material have suffered; this seems to be characteristic.

Wages, however, do not decline as rapidly as commodity prices. The retail price level goes down very slowly, compared with producers' prices, while the prices of manufactured goods and of services, such as transportation and distribution, likewise tend to resist the decline. As a result, presently there is a wide disparity between the position of such groups and that of the producers of raw materials. The surplus raw material producer and the surplus-producing country are alike placed at serious disadvantage. It is no mere coincidence that the loudest cries of distress for ten years have come from the agricultural countries of the world. Agriculture, in addition to producing essentially raw materials, is a biological industry with a very slow turnover. It not only cannot resist the slump in prices but it cannot quickly readjust its production of crops and animals.

The pressure of a major deflation

period, therefore, has fallen heavily upon the farmers of the United States, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Australia, Czechoslovakia and of practically all Western Europe. The farmer has been forced to sell his products at low prices and to pay relatively high prices for the goods and services which he has to buy. In the United States the average unit exchange value of farm products in terms of things that farmers buy stands at about 70 per cent of the pre-war figure. Likewise the surplus-producing agricultural and raw material countries have been forced to sell low and to buy high from the industrial countries. This fact is amply reflected in the rates of exchange for various foreign currencies. The burden of fixed charges, such as taxes, interest and debt payments, which tend to remain at a relatively high level, only aggravate this situation. Thus the farmer finds it increasingly difficult to pay his taxes, while the agricultural country finds it increasingly difficult to pay interest on its bonds.

Food and feed crops as a whole have not been affected by overproduction. In the ten years before 1919 the total acreage of food and feed crops in the United States, for example, increased about 14 per cent, while population increased 21 per cent. During that time the price level was rising and there was no agricultural depression. In the ten years after 1919 the acreage of food and feed crops actually declined about 1 per cent, while population increased 16 per cent. Yet in this period have come the violent decline in prices and the severe agricultural depression. Crop production in this country, per capita of the population, has steadily declined from an index of 104 in 1920, if the five pre-war years are taken as 100, to 82 in 1930. In other words, by a considerable margin, total crop production has not been keeping pace with population.

The total number of live-stock units in the United States—that is, all meat

animals, young and old, reduced to an equivalent unit basis for inventory—has declined from 69,000,000 in 1920 to 61,000,000 in 1930. Horses and mules are excluded from these figures. In the face of such an absolute decrease, one can hardly look to the live-stock industries for evidence of general overproduction. Yet it is during this same decade that the average prices, at the farm, of all farm products have fallen one-half, from an index of 205 in 1920 to 103 at present.

While it is undoubtedly true that greatly improved methods of production and an accumulation of world supplies have been partly responsible for the plight of a few specific products, notably wheat, there is little evidence in the relative output of the major agricultural commodities, as a whole, which will begin to account for the violent, protracted and universal decline in prices. This has continued irrespective of decided shortages as well as surpluses. The more one studies the sweeping price movements of the past ten years and of other post-war periods, the more certain becomes the conclusion that this irresistible, deflationary movement is the chief cause for the maladjustment between agriculture and the industrial community. It appears to be, by long odds, the main cause of the agricultural depression.

A secondary cause of the agricultural depression during the past year has been the world-wide industrial and business depression. This has intensified the difficulties of agricultural producers by curtailing the market for several staple products. The depression in the textile industry, for instance, reduced the mill consumption of cotton about 1,000,000 bales within one year. This is a very important matter to about a third of the farmers in the United States and to many others in India, Egypt, Russia, China, Mexico, Brazil and Peru. Widespread unemployment and shrinkage in family incomes have tended to reduce the urban consumption of cer-

tain meats, butter and various semi-luxury foods. In the United States this is noticeable also in the case of specialized products like fluid milk and fresh eggs. Millions of families in the great factory centres of Western Europe and the United States have been economizing this past year. While it is difficult to measure the effect of this on consumption of specific foodstuffs, the evidence indicates that it has been something of a factor.

The world has undertaken a variety of experiments since the war in the artificial control of prices, production or trade in agricultural commodities. They have mostly failed. The collapse of the sugar, rubber, coffee and other schemes of control has been cited sometimes as a major cause of the general price decline. But several of these schemes have been products of the great deflation era rather than causes. Only after they were faced with a demoralized price situation did governments or producers make desperate attempts to stem the tide by artificial control. In the United States, five years after the first crash in commodity prices, the McNary-Haugen plan, originally conceived as an aid for the wheat situation, became a headline issue. Nine years after the initial fall in prices the Federal Farm Board was created. The most recent plan of sugar control is still in the making.

The considerable displacement of horses in North America, with the release of grain lands from their former uses, has sometimes been considered as a cause of the depression. This item is estimated to have released potentially to new uses something like 8 per cent of the total crop area in the United States since the domestic market for oats and timothy hay—the staple horse feeds—has been sharply curtailed. While this has been an important factor in certain local areas and has necessitated readjustment in crops and in general farm management, actually it is only part of the revolution in technique. It may

be considered as contributory to the many readjustments forced upon farmers within the past decade and probably as among the minor causes of the agricultural depression in this country and Canada.

In Europe the breaking up of the large land holdings has led to many readjustments in agricultural production during the past decade. Political interferences in the shape of tariffs, quota requirements and a host of internal trade regulations have not tended to smooth the way for the outlying countries whose products of the soil are continually seeking the European market. Although Russia has recently attracted attention, her relation to the world agricultural situation in the last ten years has been negligible. Her possibilities lie in the future.

The world agricultural depression of the past ten years has been primarily an expression of the maladjustments resulting from a drastic, world-wide decline in the general level of prices. Contributing causes to the depression have been, first, the accumulation of supply and the forced readjustments brought about by unusual improvement in the methods of production of wheat and, in varying measure, of a few other products. Second, the business depression, by curtailing the market for cotton and various important food products and by its general demoralizing effects upon world commerce, has added to the difficulties of the past year. Other minor causes have played their parts in various countries.

So far as production is concerned, one can be assured that corrective forces are already at work, though readjustment in agriculture is a relatively slow process. The downward course of general prices, wages and charges is another matter. Here most prophets stumble. When prices stabilize again, when the prices received by farmers move back into something like a normal relationship with retail prices and with wages and charges, the agricultural depression will end.



# American Literature Since The War

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By WILLIAM B. CAIRNS

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IN the literary development of any nation there seems never to be a complete break with the past. American literature since the World War differs so greatly from that remembered from a generation ago that it may be natural to assume that the world cataclysm is wholly responsible for the change; yet a closer study will show that most of the tendencies that have developed during the last twelve years had made themselves manifest before 1918 and even before 1914. The war doubtless helped to determine what tendencies should develop most strongly, and hastened their development, and it added a few impulses of its own; but no study of post-war literature can safely ignore what immediately preceded.

The historical student of literature is constantly reminded of similarities between the intellectual life of America in the early twentieth century and that of England a hundred years before. In the earlier period Wordsworth and Coleridge were oppressed by the formalism of poetry. Byron was indignant at the hypocrisy of society regarding matters of conduct. There were perplexities over the rights of man and over the difficulties that grew out of changes in the industrial system, and, finally, there were the calamitous Napoleonic wars, foreign fighting alliances, and victory that in the end did not mean all that had in the first flush been

hoped. There is danger at every step of pushing such parallelisms too far, but a resemblance cannot be denied.

Among the forces acting in America just before 1914 was the reaction against "Victorianism," a protest against mawkish reticence, which was, at bottom and at best, a protest against hypocrisy. There was the Freudian psychology, which as popularly conceived not only stressed the importance of sex in human thought, but questioned the wisdom of sex repressions that had long been demanded by conventional morality. The "rights of man" reappeared as the rights of woman. Women were winning political and legal privileges in many States, and were already pushing their way into new occupations, before the war so greatly increased their opportunities. The "bachelor woman" came to be recognized, and a question arose as to the extent to which a bachelor woman might claim freedoms of conduct that had been more or less openly conceded to a bachelor man. These were all matters that the essayist and the novelist were bound to consider and that the poet might not wholly ignore. Another phenomenon, partly a consequence and partly a motivating force in the development of the new ideas, was the growing recognition of Whitman, both as an exponent of American democracy and as an innovator in literary form.

The striking changes in poetry that have taken place during the last generation were mostly encouraged rather than created by the war. In the early years of the century poetry was unimportant. There were few poets who really spoke to or for the people. The average reader considered a poem, as magazine editors seemed to consider it—something to fill in the otherwise blank spaces on a page. There were, however, attempts to make poetry mean more, and early in the second decade these became stronger and more important. In 1912 Miss Harriet Monroe began the publication in Chicago of her magazine, *Poetry*, and made known, if she did not coin, the phrase "New Poetry." By 1914 the first number of *Les Imagistes* had appeared in New York, and the late Amy Lowell, Robert Frost and Vachel Lindsay had each issued two volumes of original work. *The Spoon River Anthology*, by Edgar Lee Masters, compiled from poems published earlier in a St. Louis newspaper, appeared in 1915. In these works are to be found implicit almost all the qualities of the "New Poetry." There is the insistence on freedom of form and the war on *clichés* of Miss Lowell; there is the portrayal of hidden and less admirable aspects of life and the obsession with sex of Masters. There is everywhere a deliberate attempt to do things according to some theory. Even Lindsay, whose vaudeville manner gives a wrong idea of his earnestness, is a thorough and deep student of the musical masters of English poetry and of the ballads of other nations.

The war can have had no influence on the writing of any of the works that have been named, but the unrest and bewilderment with which America watched a struggle in which it was not yet actively engaged doubtless had something to do with the way in which they were received, and with the poetic output that immediately succeeded. The war had been to most Americans unexpected, and its magni-

tude and intensity seemed to threaten the foundations of civilization and encouraged a questioning of all standards. It was natural that the novel and the revolutionary in imaginative literature should receive a more favorable hearing than in settled times. The phrase "New Poetry" was everywhere heard. Numerous small magazines, each with its own fad or its own locality to serve, sprang up after the founding of Miss Monroe's *Poetry*. There were schools and "isms," each expounding some theory of poetry.

Serious efforts of this sort pretty much ceased after the exposure of "Spectrism," a hoax perpetrated by Witter Bynner and Arthur D. Ficke in the name of two fictitious poets, Emanuel Morgan and Anne Knish. The verses and theories credited to these supposed originators were really no more ludicrous than some of those that they had parodied, and they attracted serious comment and some praise, until in the famous poem ending "You are a nut," even admirers saw the light and explained their earlier enthusiasms as best they could.

Of the serious cults the only important one was Imagism, founded by Ezra Pound and continued by Miss Amy Lowell, with H. D. (Miss Doolittle) and John Gould Fletcher as coadjutors. As in the work of any self-conscious group there was much of strain and artificiality in the poetry of the Imagists, but they had ideas and they made some permanent contributions to the development of American poetry.

All the poets already mentioned wrote during the war period, as did Carl Sandburg, the most important of the obvious followers of Whitman, whose first volume appeared in 1916. The second decade of the nineteenth century, and particularly the period from 1912 to 1918, was the time of the most radical experimentation and innovation in American poetry. It is hard to say how far this was due to the fact that four years of this period were those of the war, since all the

important tendencies had made themselves manifest before 1914; but it seems certain that the emotional reaction and disillusionment that followed the armistice had something to do with the later trend of verse. There was, however, no sudden change. The writers already mentioned and many imitators continued their work and found, indeed, that the new forms were not unfit media for the expression of some of the new social ideas.

The day of new fads and cults ended pretty definitely before 1920, and the novelties introduced a few years before came to seem less attractive. English poetry can never be the same that it was before the free verse movement, but there has been a growing disposition to work in the older forms, with only the degree of freedom that makes them more effective without destroying their structure. At the same time there has been increasing recognition of poets who had been quietly working in their own way through the years of turmoil. Frost might be put in this list, though he has much in common with the innovators. A more typical figure is Edwin Arlington Robinson, who is sometimes named as the greatest living American poet—a rank assigned to him by Miss Lowell in 1922. Robinson published a collection of verse as early as 1896, and has continued to issue at respectable intervals poems in which he expresses himself naturally, not unmoved by the new poetry, but never departing far from English literary tradition. Among more purely lyric writers who show little direct influence of the war is Sara Teasdale, whose first volume dates from 1907. Miss Edna St. Vincent Millay also began writing before 1914. Her work shows little influence of the war itself, but some of her later poems and her dramas reflect the emotional feverishness that has followed.

If poetry was little regarded by the average reader at the beginning of the century, it has been much regarded since. The number of Americans who

have published volumes of verse in the last twenty years reaches many hundreds. With so great a number and so great a variety it is impossible to say, till time gives us a better perspective, who are the most representative figures. No new school of poetry ever accomplishes so great a revolution as its followers predict; yet each movement leaves some lasting change. It may safely be said that the experimenters, almost all of whom except Miss Lowell are still actively writing, will leave something important not only in their own better work but in the modified character of verse. Just what this permanent legacy is can be better told a generation hence.

Though poetry has been more popular in the last twenty years than ever before, its vogue has been slight compared with that of prose fiction. If there have been hundreds of volumes of verse there have been thousands of novels and almost innumerable short stories. There are, of course, all kinds, but those most representative of the age are of the naturalistic sort. Yet the beginnings of naturalism in America date back further than those of the "New Poetry."

Long after the fiction of Continental Europe was dealing frankly with most aspects of life, that of England and America, and especially the latter, was restricted by what was popularly supposed proper for a theoretically innocent young reader. In the late nineteenth century a few writers of naturalistic novels were inspired somewhat by the example of Continental novelists and somewhat by a reaction against a convention that they felt savored of hypocrisy. As time went on the movement that they started was stimulated by forces already mentioned—by the Freudian psychology, with its emphasis on sex, and by such later psychological systems as behaviorism, by the change in the social and economic status of woman, and, more fundamental than these, by a feeling on the part of many persons that the bases for accepted standards

of morals were themselves open to question. A deterministic philosophy in one form or another underlies most of the "modern" novels that are not purely sensational.

To be sure, analysis will show that many of the more striking differences between the older and the newer fiction are superficial. For example, unconventional love has been treated by every great novelist, in almost every great novel. In handling such matters the newer writers have used a more vivid vocabulary and have recounted in detail matters that their predecessors felt it more decent and more artistic to leave to an imagination perfectly able to construct them. But the more essential difference is that the older fiction tacitly assumed the rectitude of traditional standards of conduct, while the modern often does not. The war had some effect in unsettling personal philosophies of life, in bringing to notice irregularities of personal conduct, perhaps in rendering familiar a franker vocabulary, but it really contributed no new impulse.

The writers who began the naturalistic novel in America were very young men, moved more by a feeling of resentment against "Victorianism" than by any more positive philosophy. They enjoyed shocking a staid generation, and they sometimes described the coarse and the physically unpleasant with no better reason than to remind us that there were things in actual life that the older novelists had passed by. Chief among these were Stephen Crane, who died in 1900 at the age of 29, and Frank Norris, who died two years later, at the age of 32. Among the earliest of their twentieth century successors was Jack London, whose *Call of the Wild* appeared in 1903 and his *Sea Wolf* in 1904.

It is interesting to compare with the work of these young innovators that of men who were almost their exact contemporaries, and who must have felt the same *Zeitgeist* in their formative years, but who did not take to writing until later, and who have not

yet finished their careers. Theodore Dreiser was born one year after Frank Norris and the same year as Stephen Crane and published his first book the year that Crane died. Jack London and Sherwood Anderson were both born in 1876, but London's death and Anderson's first novel were events of the same year, 1916. The works of all these men are characterized as naturalistic; but Crane, Norris and London picture the rough, the sordid and the brutal, and consider the existence of a fact or a condition as sufficient justification for portraying it. The work of Dreiser and Anderson, who deferred the writing of fiction till they were riper in experience, is based, if not on a philosophy of life, at least on a reasoned belief that the conventional philosophy of the past does not satisfy the modern man.

Theodore Dreiser brought out his first novel at 29 and his second at 40, and he has continued to publish at not too frequent intervals since. Unlike Crane, Norris and London, he takes no pleasure in portraying the physically repulsive. If he shocks and repels some readers it is by his frank recognition of the part sex plays in the lives of men and women and by his implied questioning of moral conventions. Sherwood Anderson's first novel did not appear until the author was 40 years of age, and until he had had many experiences and known the seamy side of life. His philosophy is as deterministic as that of Dreiser; his treatment of sex is far different. While Dreiser accepts sex frankly and handles it as a motivating force in most of his novels, he has no apparent morbid interest in the subject. Anderson is obsessed with it, and it saturates all his novels and shorter sketches, even those in which it would be least expected. How far this obsession is due to European tendencies accelerated by the war is hard to say, but obviously Freudianism has much to do with it.

The most widely read and probably the most significant satiric novelist



of the post-war period is Sinclair Lewis. Mr. Lewis had been writing novels from 1914, but it was *Main Street*, published in 1920, that brought him fame. *Babbitt* (1922) had at least an equal vogue, and his later novels, while more variously estimated, have been widely acclaimed. Mr. Lewis devotes himself to the pillorying of self-satisfied human dullness and stupidity. His portrayals are clever, in many ways convincing. In the minds of some readers they raise the question, *Cui bono?* He is not exactly a reforming satirist—it is hard to see how he would change the world if he could. He is not of the more humane satirists who show tenderness for the human race in spite of its foibles. Nor does he seem to be writing purely for the fun's sake. But he is an acute observer who finds the human scene interesting, and if he is not sympathetic he is never really bitter. His selection to receive the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1930 is sufficient indication of the width of his appeal. If he is typical of his age it is because the age enjoys finding the world a little out of joint, and has no plan and no great desire to put it right.

Only a few names and those not necessarily the most deserving have been mentioned from among the hundreds of writers of realistic novels and short stories. A comparative estimate is impossible now, and the future historian will probably be obliged to consider the work as a mass. An unfortunate fact has been the disposition to cater to the love of sensationalism. "Startling," "most outspoken," "amazingly frank," are expressions to be gathered from any collection of publishers' blurbs, written by men who well know that though the qualities promised may appeal to the searcher for truth and for the artistic, they also, when applied to novels of sex, appeal to the appetite for the salacious. Many authors have deliberately pandered to the same weaknesses which publishers are so ready to gratify.

Though the proponents of naturalism have been the most conspicuous as a group, they have not been the only writers of fiction. James Branch Cabell is a romanticist in scenes and plots, but his philosophy, so far as it is intelligible, is much the same as that of the realists. To many readers of conservative tastes Mrs. Edith Wharton seems the leading novelist of her generation. She is responsive to the new trends of thought, and some of her best work paints with slightly ironic insight the differences between the Victorian age and the present in her native city of New York; but her art is of the older school.

Recent drama has become a topic for the specialist rather than for the general student of American literature. Some devotees of the "Little Theatre" movement have made the play a vehicle for social and philosophical propaganda; others have been moved by new and sometimes incomprehensible conceptions of literary art, and all have tried to fit the form to various novel systems of stagecraft. Temporarily, at least, the theatre as known in the last century is in eclipse. Of the many who have attempted plays of late the one whose name stands out conspicuously is Eugene O'Neill, who is known both for his stage innovations and for his freedom in treating the more brutal facts of life and the manifestations of sex. Mr. O'Neill has recently taken up his residence in France, and the effect on his art of French influence and of removal from the American scene will be watched with interest.

While fiction has been so popular, non-fiction has also had a great vogue. In recent years lists of the "ten best sellers" have often included several titles of essays, biographies and miscellaneous prose, including works on science and philosophy; and some of the more solid magazines have reduced the proportion of serials and short stories and increased the number of informational and speculative

essays. This change is due not so much to a greater earnestness on the part of readers as to the development of a more attractive manner of writing on serious subjects. This can perhaps be traced back in part to the "10-cent magazines" which flourished late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth century. These were conducted by men who had been trained in the school of newspaper journalism and who brought to their new editorships a knowledge of the ways to make a wide popular appeal. They insisted that informational articles should be entertainingly written, and they developed a form which since President Roosevelt furnished the word has been known as the "muck-raking" essay. This last assumed to present the results of an impartial investigation, affected fairness, and was usually accurate in the statement of such facts as were given; but data were so chosen and proportioned as to present some person or institution in an unfavorable light. Something in human nature welcomes attacks on those in high places.

It seems probable that to the examples of these articles, supplemented by the new psychology, can be traced the origin of forms of biography that have been popular of late. Some of these works assume that the parts of a man's life that he most desires to suppress, and probably most regrets, are his truest self; and they accordingly unearth and report old scandal and insinuate questionable motives. Others attempt a psychoanalysis of persons long since dead and base their conclusions on data assumed rather than established. Under the pretense of making a character "real" or "human" or "taking him from a pedestal," they appeal to the widespread desire to learn evil of those who have been considered worthy of respect. But recent years have also seen the appearance of a large number of scholarly

biographies, and of some autobiographical and semi-autobiographical studies that may last as long as anything the period has produced. Among these are such different works as *The Education of Henry Adams*, which, though written earlier, was published and made its appeal after the author's death, and the reminiscent volumes of Hamlin Garland. Prose essays have been offered in great variety, including the provocative writings of H. L. Mencken, the individual lucubrations of Christopher Morley and the more academic utterances of Stuart P. Sherman and others.

It is always hard to interpret the immediate signs of the times, and it is still more difficult to prophesy. As America enters the fourth decade of the century it appears, however, that the time of experimentation in verse has passed and that the tendency is to employ established forms, modified but not radically modified by the adoption of the best that the "New Poetry" had to offer. In fiction, while the sensational is still common enough, there are indications that taste is changing, that sex and psychoanalysis play a less essential part and that the reading public is ready to welcome a different type of novel when excellent work appears. The drama is still in a state of flux and experimentation. Biographies which sacrifice accuracy and fairness to picturesqueness are still produced, though not quite so freely as a few years ago. Prose essays are so varied that generalization is impossible.

While it would be absurd to predict the course of any one of these forms, there seems reason to believe that the next twenty years will be a period of increasing conservatism, in which American literature will again find itself, and in which the innovations that deserve to be permanent will be sorted out from the vagaries of recent years.

# The New Crisis in the Motion Picture Industry

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*By* GEORGE KENT

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THE art of the cinema may or may not have profited by the coming of the talking picture—the controversy still goes on—but it cannot be disputed that civilization, temporarily at least, has suffered. The silent movie constituted the most potent possible instrument of propaganda for the international spirit. The old silent motion picture was understood by all people, no matter what their language. It was international in appeal; its message, such as it was, reached a greater number of people than any other known means of communication. Fundamentally it is not important what these films were; they served in a most vigorous way to awake in the scattered peoples of the world an almost identical emotional response to the same dramatic tales. This propaganda has been the most powerful unifying force in the history of modern times.

Hollywood supplied approximately 80 per cent of the world's pictures. These were said to be a glorious free publicity for the United States, and, though this cannot be denied wholly, one cannot help remembering the unpleasant and distorted picture of American life presented by films of underworld life, fast society, hard drinking flapperdom and gun-toting Westerners. Still the pictures were improving; even the most exasperated of critics admitted as much. There was less of the machine-made product and more of the carefully thought-out

drama, more attention to cinema as a special pantomimic art quite separate from that of the spoken stage. The motion picture was about to find itself when the apparatus for the recording and reproducing of talking pictures came into being.

The addition of sound to the motion picture effectively destroyed its internationalism. This, although obvious, was not admitted by the producers until they had exhausted their entire magazine of resources. "Dubbing" voices speaking a foreign language upon the lip movements of American stars, the most difficult of makeshifts, was hooted off the screens wherever it was tried; the fraud was too palpable. Superimposition of written captions in the foreign tongue to accompany the puppets speaking English also failed, as did a half dozen other schemes that seemed practical until tested in the studio. The producers at last confessed that there was no escape. To make a picture for a French audience the film must be remade from beginning to end with French actors, real actors who speak the French of Paris or Touraine, and not Americans fresh from college or correspondence school courses in the language. The only saving that can be effected is in the cost of sets—the so-called long shots where the characters are far enough away to be unrecognizable, and mob and general street scenes.

The movies, become audible, are now national in the narrowest sense.

With a far wider and more attentive audience than radio, the newspaper, books or the spoken stage, they are more jealously controlled and seem to foster nationalism at its worst. Since the talkies arrived there have been riots or disturbances in almost every country of Europe. In Prague a theatre was bombed because it showed a film in the German language, although all the Czechs in Prague speak German. But the Czechs are proud of their new-found nationalism and were stung to express it by the sound of German issuing from the screen. Probably a German troupe playing in German in a Prague theatre would have aroused no great comment, much less a riot followed by a bombing. Approximately the same thing occurred in Warsaw, where anti-German feeling also runs high. In Paris a gallery of Montmartre hooted a film in English until the manager was obliged to return the money they had paid for their seats. In Sarajevo an angry audience tore up the seats, and similar acts of violence were reported in Buenos Aires and other South American cities.

The recent disorders in Germany over the film "All Quiet on the Western Front" illustrate the national feeling that can be aroused by a talkie. The reaction of Austria was only slightly less emphatic. All this seems strange because Remarque's novel had an immense vogue in both Germany and Austria and though attacked in the nationalist press aroused no great bitterness. The moving picture manifestly retains its ancient power over the emotions of the populace, although now forced by its limitations to serve the ends of extreme nationalism.

Even in England the talkie with its American accent is able to arouse a latent and often bitter provincialism. Although 75 per cent of the pictures shown are Hollywood-made—and they are liked and appreciated—public opinion sulks at this enjoyment of the American offerings. Critics sneer at the American language; they lambast

the actors, the diction, the stories, the lack of taste, the direction and almost everything else, be it ever so slightly askew. On the other hand, the most casual British effort is hailed extravagantly. These British productions, issuing from Elstree, which is the Hollywood of England, have in the past been dull, uninteresting, stupid affairs; no more proof is needed than their failure to please a patriotic and eager public. Recent improvements, however, indicate that Great Britain, which possesses a host of splendid actors and a large proportion of individuals with excellent speaking voices, may yet have a successful cinema industry. Jesse Lasky not so long ago predicted that the diction of the talking picture in English would be British rather than American. For the moment it is American, although this does not mean that in the future we will not be fighting for our diction and our American vocabulary much as the Spaniards and Latin Americans are fighting today.

The petty nationalism fostered by the talking picture can be seen nowhere so clearly as in the problem of making a film in Spanish. This language is the key to the second largest moving picture market in the world—the first being English, the third German and the fourth French. Hollywood started out carelessly to make films for the Spanish world with casts of Mexicans, Cubans and Guatemalans; after all, Spanish is Spanish. But it was quickly discovered that something was lacking. These films were laughed out of Spain, frowned out of Argentina and were only tolerated everywhere else; success came in Mexico City alone, because the language of the film was Mexican. The Castilian of Spain was received with better grace but not with enthusiasm. Every country in Latin America has a distinctive Spanish of its own which in turn differs from the half dozen varieties of Spanish spoken in Spain. The Latin Americans in Hollywood are clamoring now for their linguistic rights because the



producers have virtually decided to establish Castilian as the classic diction of the films. The languages of Latin America will have their place, but only on those occasions where the characters or the locale are Latin American.

But there are other linguistic difficulties. The Portuguese are not pleased that the bulk of the films they see are in Spanish; the Swiss Germans would like to have films in their own variant of the language, and so too the Dutch and the Flemish Belgians, who are obliged to listen to their talkies in German. The Norwegians and Danes grumble over a diet of Swedish and German films; the Turks, the Greeks, the Egyptians over the flow of French.

The only ray of hope in this storm of nationalism is the growing tendency to minimize the importance of speech in the film. Eisenstein, the Russian director of "Potemkin," may have started the movement when he stated that for the art to remain pure cinema speech must be drastically reduced and sound employed only to enhance the effectiveness of the pantomime. This to a certain extent has been done by Charlie Chaplin, who has stood out against the talkies. Chaplin has given speech no place in his pictures, but he has employed music and sound effects. Other and possibly more commercial directors have also reached the conclusion that too much talk spoils a film, a point of view which is becoming unanimous.

The talking picture was welcomed at first because it filled a real need. People were tired of the silent movies; theatres were half empty. Box office receipts in the United States were just barely sufficient to defray the cost of production and distribution—for profits the producers depended upon exports. No one was earning much and many were losing what they had. But the talkie was a novelty; it aroused the country, galvanized the industry. This revolution is generally dated Aug. 6, 1926, the day when "Don Juan," a Warner Brothers film

with musical accompaniment and no speech, was first shown. "The Jazz Singer," with Al Jolson, a full-length film with dialogue shown later that Fall, really started the upheaval. "It clicked. It knocked them cold," to use the vernacular of Broadway. When Jolson's second film, "The Singing Fool," was produced, more moving and technically far superior, Hollywood surrendered and the stampede began. Hollywood in a frenzy tore down and built up with an indifference to dollars and consequences that only Hollywood can display when it has made up its mind to gamble. The moving picture industry had enormously to gain and relatively little to lose.

Hollywood changed overnight from a simple affair of cameras, lights and properties to a complex organism of soundproofed stages, recording apparatus, mixer and monitor rooms, and an intricate system of controls and playbacks; Hollywood was literally electrified. The transformation extended over the country to the theatres; each had to be considered acoustically and equipped with apparatus for reproduction. The studios were obliged to engage and train an army of personnel that had never been required in the old days—sound engineers, composers, electricians, voice culturists. Men in the projection booth of theatres had to be educated for their new job. Artists and directors themselves had to be reshuffled, for the stars of the silent films only too often were vocally disenchanting. This colossal undertaking, the reshaping of one of America's greatest industries, had to be done in a hurry, because days were dollars as they had never been before. The Jolson pictures were breaking box office records wherever they went. Millions were being made. What was more important, the talkies had caught the public fancy and crowds milled and queued in front of the picture theatres as in the earlier bonanza days.

Within six months the transformation was completed, but at an enor-

mous cost. The cost of turning a single studio from silent to sound is never less than a quarter of a million dollars, and every producer of importance in both Hollywood and Eastern studios went the sound way. The yearbook of *The Film Daily* estimated the cost of the change-over at \$5,000,000, but this is an extremely conservative figure; \$10,000,000 or even \$15,000,000 would be more accurate. This does not include the cost of equipping the theatres. The price of a reproducing apparatus ranges from \$5,000 to \$15,000; the number of theatres in America equipped is 11,000, so that the cost to the theatre owners of the country was somewhere between \$50,000,000 and \$100,000,000.

These figures do not take into account loss of time, loss of product and loss in salaries paid out to stars who were useless in the talkies. At first the producers were able to unload their silent films by the simple process of adding a few songs, sound effects and orchestral accompaniment. But these synchronized films soon became unacceptable and save for the foreign and a small domestic outlet have failed to meet even the cost of manufacture. Stars such as Monte Blue, Vilma Banky, Corinne Griffith and scores of others—all idols of the public and recipients of fantastic salaries—through vocal deficiencies or inability to speak the language were impossible in the new medium. Their contracts, however, in most cases had years to run. This situation forced the producers into an orgy of contract buying, not only of stars of the first magnitude but of many lesser lights. This item alone cost several million dollars.

After the initial outlay for equipment there remained the cost of production in the new medium. For every reel the producers discovered they were obliged to pay a royalty of \$1,000 over and above all other expenses. In addition there was the cost of maintenance. The cost of the picture itself increased. The old scenario writers now had to be supplemented

by a new type, a man who could do more than spin a plot and scribble "came the dawn"—the men who are successful playwrights and novelists, with a proved capacity for writing dialogue. Competition for these writers drove up salaries; hundreds were engaged at salaries ranging from \$300 to \$1,000 weekly and hundreds returned at the end of the trial contract span of three months. Competition for the rights to plays becoming keen also sent up prices. Production costs reached incredible heights.

The producers took each hurdle as they came to it and kept on going, for the times were good. They were making money again. The extra cost of production was passed on to the theatre owners. Working always on a percentage basis with the theatres, they simply exacted a higher percentage, which paid royalties, salaries and an excellent profit. Since the public was fascinated and continued to crowd the theatres, the public in the end paid for the Hollywood revolution with the nightly nickels and dimes that had been added to the price of admission.

"The Jazz Singer" and "The Singing Fool" had by now crossed the oceans to repeat in Europe, South America and the other continents their remarkable American success. Wherever they went they created a furor, praise mingled with condemnation; attendance records were established everywhere. This success persuaded the American producers that the foreign market was still theirs, that it was only a question of applying one of its numerous schemes to make the Hollywood reels acceptable as of old.

When the producers at last went abroad to investigate they learned that the early orals were successful because they were novelties. Now they needed films in the languages of the natives and nothing else would do; the tricks had been tried and they had failed. European film makers con-

sidered that they at last had Hollywood at a disadvantage and they meant to leave nothing undone to avenge their ancient grudge. Events have revealed that the Europeans were not wholly wrong. In the silent days the American industry supplied from 35 to 95 per cent of the film needs of all European countries; today this figure has declined to 10 and even less. Animated cartoons, news reels and a few comedies are as popular as they used to be, but the features have no market at all, and to be sold must be made over completely into the various foreign tongues. Only the United Kingdom is an exception.

But American companies have taken steps to solve the problem. The Paramount Company has invested \$2,000,000 in a Paris studio, where its successes in the United States are made over into twelve different languages. These films are made with incredible swiftness, two weeks to a version, and, while workmanlike affairs, have only been moderately successful. Other companies also plan to establish studios abroad, but for the present are importing casts and directors from Europe, while producing fewer pictures than Paramount but of a greater general excellence.

Only three languages—French, German and Spanish—assure the film makers of a profit; in all the others the number of theatres and the cinema-going populations are so small as to preclude a profit on the production of a film in the native tongue. Germany and France for the time being are leaders in multi-lingual production, but virtually every country in Europe is attacking the problem. It is not unlikely that a nationally subsidized studio will be the possession of every country much as the national theatre and opera is today.

Hollywood's attitude toward the foreign market is no longer one of unconcern. Once again the people at home are tiring of the movies; attendance is falling off, and although expenses are being severely reduced the

profits remain small and will probably be smaller. If the curve of attendance recedes as it did in 1926, the industry will be in lamentable plight, for today, five years later, there is no rich foreign outlet to supply what is missing at home. The solution may lie abroad. America must teach Europe its way of going to the movies, for European attendance is as one to ten when compared to this country. The Hollywood film is an elaborate, costly product; its producers cannot do well on a pittance and they may never be able to hit the new national markets with their relatively small number of theatres and weak attendance. Were these markets to be suddenly converted into "movie fan" regions where the percentage of attendance, instead of being 7 or 12 or 15, as it goes abroad, would be 89 as it is here, Hollywood then could fill every need, oust its competitors and once again give an international flavor to the cinemas of the world. Hollywood cannot work well on a small budget, and so the future is and will remain dubious.

Meanwhile the films continue to improve in quality. The dialogue is more real and often it attains brilliance. The films that are successful are those which retain some of the old rapidity of movement. The new stars are on the whole a more capable, more intelligent group of actors than were the old. Technically the talking screen is far advanced today over what it was when Jolson first sang. Methods of recording have improved and the direction is better now that the medium is beginning to be understood. Recording is done almost wholly on film, the expensive and cumbersome disk method having been discarded by all but one company. The new art has still to find its Griffith or its Eisenstein, but it is doing very well for itself until that day arrives, piling up data, noting down the results of experiments and being fairly successful in pleasing a public that grows increasingly fickle.

# The New Women of the Orient

By NANCY AUSTEN

THE women of Japan, China, India, Egypt, Turkey and Syria have launched vigorous feminist campaigns and already have made startling progress. In the Near East Turkish women lead in feminist reforms. For centuries Turkish women were hidden behind latticed windows and the Moslem veil. Without a veil they could not appear on the streets nor come into the presence of any man, except immediate relatives. During the World War they were permitted to work in charitable fields and in hospitals, and this paved the way for their entry into business and the professions. The Young Turk party, which came into power at that time, determined completely to Westernize Turkey and to adopt the customs of the Western nations, one of which was freedom of women. Mustapha Kemal Pasha, in a proclamation, abolished the veil and polygamy and declared that men and women should have equal rights before the law. Needless to say, Oriental tradition has prevented the complete fulfillment of all the reforms advocated by President Kemal.

Turkish women have the valiant support of men in their reforms. A prominent Turkish official in discussing the causes of the backwardness of Turkey stressed the fact that Turkish women were denied a position in social and civil life. He said: "To bring women into our social life will be the first step in our true regeneration. Civilization is the culture of the spirit, fineness of thought and purity of character, and when men and women mingle freely it will ele-

vate masculine standards." Latife Hanoum, Selma Ekrem and Halide Hanoum led the campaign for women's rights. In 1916 women were admitted to Turkish universities, and they made such good use of their opportunities that today Turkish women are active in the professions, in business, on the stage, in the law courts and on the trains. They are seen at clubs, their hair bobbed and wearing Western frocks. The appearance of Turkish women alone upon the streets of Constantinople with unveiled face, short skirts and in other colors than the traditional black, excites no comment. Compared with the feminist movement in Europe and America, Turkish women still have far to go, but the progress made in little more than a decade in this Oriental country, with the customs of the immovable East and the strict traditions of Islam, is little short of amazing.

Egyptian women rank second in the advancement of Oriental women. The feminists of Cairo are very much alive to modern thought and world movements and are women of broad views and a deep international understanding and sympathy. The leader of the Egyptian feminists is Mme. Hoda Shiraoui Pasha, an Egyptian noblewoman of great charm, broad culture and marked business ability. She was the first woman in Egypt to take off the veil, an act of courage in a country which still cherishes the veil and tarboosh, those mysterious symbols of Islam. Mme. Shiraoui, moreover, invites gentlemen to her home, one of the old mansions of Cairo, an act



which violates the sacred traditions of the past. The secretary of the Egyptian feminist movement is Ihsan Ahmed Shakir, another woman of great force of character, a writer and a student, possessed of indomitable courage. A few years ago Mme. Shakir announced that she was going to Syria to enter the American University at Beirut. Up to that time no Moslem woman had entered the Beirut university. She was the only woman in the classes the first year, but she kept pace with the men and remained there four years. Having succeeded so well at Beirut, she resolved to enter Columbia University to continue her studies, but the Bureau of Education refused her a passport.

Egyptian feminists have on their program several forms of civic progress. They are agitating for more schools and are vigorously seeking to increase the budget for education, which is now only 2 per cent of the total. They demand schools and compulsory education for girls as well as boys; they assert that the great Moslem university of the Alazhar must be modernized. They have founded hospitals and dispensaries and are demanding complete equality with men. Early in their campaign they introduced a law prohibiting polygamy, notwithstanding that the Koran allows four wives. Finding it difficult to secure the passage of a law contrary to the Koran, they agreed to regulate the matter privately, until the bill is passed, by refusing their daughters to men having other wives. Egyptian feminists insist on the same moral standard for men as for women. One of the tenets of the Egyptian feminists is world friendship.

The feminist movement has even penetrated the Moslem stronghold of remote Syria, the most ancient region of human history, and there one finds feminists of a vigorous type. The leader is Miss Nazik Abed of Damascus, a young woman of strong personality, absolutely fearless and independent in thought and action.

Nazik Abed took an active part in the Arab revolution in which Prince Feisal, now King Feisal of Iraq, was such a striking figure. Censorship and police interference has perhaps reached its perfection in Syria, but Miss Abed goes her way, regardless of such handicaps, advocating such measures and reforms as seem necessary to secure for women equal rights with men. The feminists of Syria have, as yet, realized scarcely any of their aspirations, but they make their voices heard in national affairs and hope soon to secure a few privileges.

One of the dynamic Syrian feminists is Mme. Julia Demeschique, the leading woman editor and publisher of the Arabic-speaking world. Her monthly magazine, *The New Woman*, is the most widely read Arabic woman's magazine in the whole Arabic-speaking world, which includes Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Turkey, Persia, Arabia, Palestine and other countries of the Near East. Mme. Demeschique also edits and publishes a political weekly. Her weekly salons in Beirut scintillate with brilliant discussions on every subject engaging the attention of the Near East or the world at large. Nationalism, French and British mandates, the policies of the League of Nations, Arab-Zionist difficulties, the Mosul problem, the Kurdish-Turkish-Persian triangle, the oil problem of Bagdad, sovietism, the future of India, the weakness of China, the cleverness of Japan and other subjects are discussed frankly by the leading men and women.

In turning to the feminists of the Far East we find that they also command attention and admiration. In China the woman's movement centres in Canton, where the widow of Dr. Sun Yat-sen is the leader. She endeavors to educate the women of China to take their places as disciples of the new political program which her late husband inaugurated. By a decree of Sun Yat-sen, a copy of which is kept in every school and read daily, the women of Canton have

equal rights with men. Dr. Sun holds the place in the hearts of the Southern Chinese which Lenin occupies in the hearts of Soviet Russians—the savior of the masses.

In the women's garrison in Canton the discipline is exactly the same as for men, and many of the women dress like men. In Peking there are women detectives and women policemen, and they are in practically all the professions. The woman's movement has just begun in China, and when the simplified alphabet becomes generally known, it will make possible the dissemination of feminist propaganda among the masses, who, up to now, have been entirely untouched by it. It has always been impossible to secure unified action in China because of the lack of adequate means of communication. There is no common spoken language, although the written language is the same. But as the people are almost wholly illiterate, it is impossible to reach the mass of women. Feminists are working toward an improvement in this condition, and undoubtedly they would have made greater headway if, since the movement began, China had not been constantly torn by civil wars.

The feminist movement in Japan has none of the radical elements which dominate the Chinese movement. The women of Japan are working vigorously, but along conservative lines. Their New Woman's Association, formed in 1920, has on its program the equal treatment of women and men. Formerly there was a law forbidding women to attend or hold political meetings, but the feminists so insistently demanded the right to attend the Diet and listen to the speeches that this law was revised in 1921.

We are accustomed to think of things as moving slowly in the Orient, but in the last twenty-five years as much progress has been made as was accomplished in Europe in five centuries. The Japanese word for wife (*okusama*) means the "lady of the

inside," and such she was until 1910. Since then a complete change has occurred, and now she is alertly aware of world affairs and has gone out into practically every profession and field of activity. The medical profession is most popular, her training in self-abnegation fitting her especially for this profession. Japan has 1,200 women physicians, 35,000 nurses, 500 dentists and a great many druggists. Hardly a profession or vocation in Japan is closed to women. There are even women taxi-drivers, and one Japanese woman is a sea captain, owning and manning her own ship. A notable example is the dynamic figure of Mrs. Suzuki, the millionaire rice dealer and banker, the failure of whose house caused a serious financial crisis. It is only fair to Mrs. Suzuki to explain that the failure was not due to poor management but to war conditions in China, her chief customer.

There are over twenty monthly magazines for girls and women in Tokio, and Japanese women are inveterate readers. Because 98 per cent of the people are literate, it is easy to disseminate progressive ideas. The quality of material in these women's magazines is excellent, and the articles show how seriously Japanese women think upon world problems and human affairs. Politics, religion, war, social problems, racial complexities, economics, hygiene, sanitation, love, marriage, sex, foreign customs and other subjects engaging the modern mind are dealt with and are discussed with refreshing frankness.

Japanese feminists have for their objective equality of the sexes in education, politics, industry and the law; the abolition of the Yoshiwara; prohibition, anti-militarism, health and efficiency. They have declared themselves against war and for peace among all nations. They advocate birth control and the same moral standards for men as for women. Japanese women have that persistent patience common to all Orientals, which will bring them to their goal eventu-

ally, even though it may take generations.

Undoubtedly, the new spirit of internationalism which is coming to birth in the souls of the women of the world is more potent for the good of mankind than any other phase of the feminist movement. In every civilized country, great and small, the feminine consciousness is beginning to break through national boundaries. Women read more, think more, know more concerning international affairs than ever before. More women from the far

corners of the earth meet each other in various sorts of conferences every year. Oriental feminists are very keen in attendance at these international conferences. They begin to see that they and the rest of womankind are, after all, very much alike, and they return from the conferences with a vision of themselves as a part of the complete circle of the human family, their problems and aspirations the common problems and aspirations of women of the whole earth. Thus have the East and the West met at last.

## A New Type of Radiation

By WATSON DAVIS

*Managing Editor, Science Service*

**R**AYS from onion roots, tadpole heads and other living things are now engaging the attention of biologists. Since they stimulate the growth of various kinds of cells, a new type of radiation will be added to those already known. Some scientists, however, are still unconvinced that this "mitogenetic radiation" really exists. "M-rays," as they are called for short, were first noticed by the Russian scientist Gurwitsch.

These radiations seem to resemble ultra-violet light, with a wave length about half that of the shortest visible wave. But they are not monochromatic light. They are so feeble that only the most delicate methods can be used to detect them, and these have required so much skill in manipulation that possible errors in experiment or observation have rendered many results dubious in the eyes of skeptical scientists. "M-rays" have been recorded thus far from fifty-six living things—bacteria, yeasts, plant

tissues (mostly roots), fertilized eggs and embryonic tissue of animals, blood, nerve cells, cancer growths and muscles.

There is no good reason for an ultra-conservative, overskeptical attitude regarding the existence of the Gurwitsch rays, declares Professor Seifriz of the University of Pennsylvania. Heat rays from animals are so common we do not even stop to notice them. Visible light rays are also commonplaces in such things as fireflies and electric discharges in many species of fish. So why not expect still other radiations? Professor Seifriz has suggested that radioactive minerals such as potassium, abundantly present in organisms, and the less plentiful rubidium, are possible sources of short wave length radiations in animals and plants. Infinitesimal but quite definite amounts of radium have been found in certain water plants, the concentration in their cells being measurably higher than that in the

surrounding water. In the original experiments on "M-rays" it was found that one onion root pointed at another stimulated its growth. Professor Seifriz found that pointing a tadpole's head at growing roots made them grow faster, but point the tail at the roots and they grew without any sign of stimulation.

Dr. D. U. Borodin, who is working at the Boyce Thompson Institute, Yonkers, N. Y., has developed a new method of detecting the "M-rays." He planted a few yeast cells in two drops of malt sugar solution. The drops hang down in a miniature moist chamber formed by a cover glass at the top, a glass ring, and at the bottom a filter consisting of a crystalline quartz plate or a sheet of cellophane, which are both transparent to short-wave radiations. Under one of these drop cultures in a hollow microscope slide, placed below the filter, he puts living bacteria, or yeast colonies, plant or animal cells or tissues suspected of being capable of sending out the "M-rays." The other he leaves as it is, as a check or control. Then, to promote rapid growth of the yeast in both drops, he puts both in an incubator at a definite constant temperature. In a definite time visible colonies of yeast, showing difference in size, appear in both drops. They are photographed through a microscope, and the areas of the colonies, as they appear on the plates, are measured by means of an instrument called the planimeter. Dr. Borodin states that in a long series of these planimetric measurements of hanging-drop yeast colonies the ones subjected to the influence emanating from living cells have practically always shown greater growth than their untreated twins kept as controls.

At present the vacuum tubes developed by Dr. M. A. Tuve, Dr. L. R. Hafstad and Odd Dahl in the laboratories of the Department of Terrestrial Magnetism of the Carnegie Institution of Washington have operated reliably at potentials up to 2,000,000

volts. This is a remarkable potential to be impressed upon a vacuum tube, and it produces the most powerful radiations yet made by man, artificial beta rays, which are high-speed electrons, and artificial gamma rays, which are very penetrating X-rays. Thus two of the three radiations from radium have already been duplicated. Dr. Tuve and his associates are now at work on a new method of building up electrical voltages that should soon make it possible to impress upon gigantic X-ray or other vacuum tubes voltages much higher than the 5,000,000 they have generated so far. By using these voltages to accelerate the positively charged cores of hydrogen atoms these scientists will have by far the most powerful projectiles ever available to a human being, resembling the alpha rays from radium.

Most physicists expect the artificial radiations to be extremely useful in probing deeper into the fundamental structure of matter. They expect as a by-product that the powerful radiations will be useful in the treatment of cancer and possibly other medical uses. The radiations are expected to give new knowledge of the earth's magnetism and how it is caused.

The ability to learn and remember may not be confined to living organisms. A mathematical investigation by Dr. N. Rashevsky of the research laboratories of the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company has shown that certain mixtures of lifeless fluid substances show behavior indistinguishable from what we call memory. Properly chosen combinations of liquids will respond to repeated changes in the temperature, pressure or other conditions to which they are subjected, as if they were sensitive to their past experience and could put 2 and 2 together. Apparently this unique behavior is possible in a system which may come to rest in more than one position. For instance, a rectangular block may be in equilibrium when resting on any one of its faces. In addition, however,



there must be a lag in the changes within the mixture itself, by which, when the substance is displaced from its resting condition, an appreciable time is required for recovery. Dr. Rashevsky declares that he has proved that such mixtures would show Pavlov's famous conditioned reflex which is the foundation of behavioristic psychology. He does not suggest that this is the exact physical mechanism of memory in living animals. No such mixture has yet been made and tested in the laboratory, though the mathematics makes that sequel probable.

Vibrations of steel balls and spiral springs now give science exact information on the motions occurring in molecules far too small to be seen. Dr. C. F. Kettering, general director of General Motors Research Laboratories; Professor D. H. Andrews, now at Johns Hopkins University, and L. W. Shutts, also of the General Motors Research Laboratories, have constructed mechanical models in which the various kinds of atomic vibrations occurring in, for instance, a molecule of benzene can be observed visually. These models reproduce with exactness the light radiations or spectra from liquid benzene.

A lack of sufficient iron in the brain cells of persons suffering from the mental disorder dementia praecox may make it impossible for them to utilize the oxygen they breathe, and the lack of oxygen may in turn account for their peculiar behavior. This theory of the possible cause of a common mental disease was advanced by Dr. Walter Freeman of St. Elizabeth's, a government hospital for the insane in Washington, in a report published in the *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*. Dr. Freeman was led to the discovery through following up the research of three other physicians who have been hunting for a method of treatment for the disease.

Within the past year, Dr. A. S. Loevenhart, Dr. W. F. Lorenz and Dr. R. M. Waters of the University of Wis-

consin tried the experiment of administering a mixture of carbon dioxide and oxygen to dementia praecox patients who had sunk into a stuporous, catatonic state. Startling changes in the condition of the patients resulted from the inhaling of these gases. From being stuporous, mute and mentally inactive, the patients became active and communicative. The mixtures given contained a much higher percentage of oxygen than ordinary air, and Dr. Freeman believed that the effect on the patients might be parallel to the mental effect on normal persons of increased atmospheric pressure. To assure himself of what these effects were, he entered a tank used for tests at the Washington Navy Yard in which the atmospheric pressure can be raised or lowered by air pumps to any desired degree. The effect of low oxygen concentrations he found to be a slowing up of mental activities, with a feeling of bewilderment, difficulty in thinking and seeing, and a proneness to error which may eventuate in actual fainting. Increased oxygen tension, on the other hand, produces real stimulation, an effect which may be likened to that of three cocktails without the attendant buzzing in the head. It seemed to Dr. Freeman altogether reasonable to conclude that "the brain cells of schizophrenic patients may be unable to function normally because they cannot utilize the oxygen that is brought to them under existing conditions of atmospheric pressure, although they may perform their normal functions when the tension of oxygen is increased sufficiently to compensate for the defect."

But he also raised the question whether there might not be some defect in the brain of schizophrenic patients which would account for this inability to utilize oxygen. Microscopic and chemical examination revealed the fact that the brain cells of persons who had died with schizophrenia contained decidedly less iron than the brain cells of others. Iron is

a part of every living cell and is necessary to the process of oxygen metabolism. The reason that cyanide, for instance, is such a deadly poison to cells is probably because it combines with the iron in the cell to form an inert compound. Dr. Freeman regards this discovery only in the light of a promising lead for further research, however, and warns against the raising of false hopes of a dementia praecox "cure." Cures of this disease, like cures for cancer, are something which the medical profession is hoping and earnestly working for, but so far they have proved elusive. At present he has found no way in which the deficiency in iron could be made up, although he has tried several methods without apparent benefit.

A fundamental scientific attack upon drug addiction has been under way for the past two years under the auspices of a National Research Council committee. Instead of treating the unfortunates who have become addicts to morphine or other habit-forming preparations, the group of scientists working on this problem have begun with a thorough investigation of the chemical, biological and medicinal phases of the problem. The committee is attempting, first, to replace habit-forming drugs with drugs that lack addiction properties. Morphine, for instance, is strongly addictive, while codeine, which causes few addicts, can replace many uses of morphine if taken in larger doses. Marked progress had been made in recent years in the replacement of cocaine by safe drugs in practically all its uses except application for sur-

face anesthesia. It is hoped that substitutes for other habit-forming drugs can be found and the national and international control of the manufacture, handling and sale of narcotics made easier.

With the cooperation of the American Medical Association, the committee plans to furnish physicians with information on the latest discoveries of how non-habit-forming drugs can be substituted for those that are likely to cause addicts. Two research laboratories were established to discover narcotic substitutes, one at the University of Virginia for chemical analysis and synthesis of alkaloid substances, and the other at the University of Michigan for the biological testing of narcotics and their substitutes. The National Research Council committee has also worked closely with the United States Public Health Service and the Treasury Department Narcotic Bureau.

Because few American chemists had worked on alkaloid chemistry in the past twenty-five years, chemists had to be brought from Europe for the staff of the University of Virginia laboratory. Dr. L. F. Small, an American, who had spent two years in narcotic research in Europe, and two colleagues, Dr. Erich Mosetting and Dr. Alfred Burger, from the laboratory of Professor Ernest Späth in Vienna, are now training American chemists to carry on this work. They have made thirty compounds for testing by the University of Michigan laboratory, which is in charge of Professor C. W. Edmunds and Dr. Nathan B. Eddy.

# Current History in Cartoons



MAKING THEIR GOOD REVOLUTIONS FOR 1931

—Eve. Standard, London



A DOLEFUL SEASON—BUT NOT FOR FRANCE

[France's "nil" for unemployed is, of course, an exaggeration]

—Glasgow Eve. Times



BRIAND—THE PERMANENT MINISTER

—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam



Strange that the same people should have so much courage in the face of war—and so little in the face of peace

—New York Herald Tribune





#### INVITATION TO INDIA

John Bull: "Take your place and I will see that you arrive"

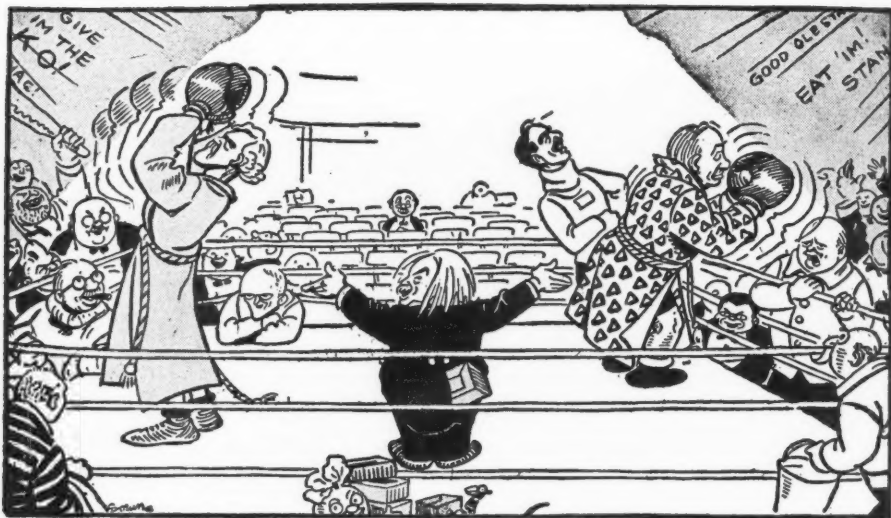
—Kladderadatsch, Berlin



#### THE SOVIET FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Stalin points to the fine results—but how do they look behind the scenes?

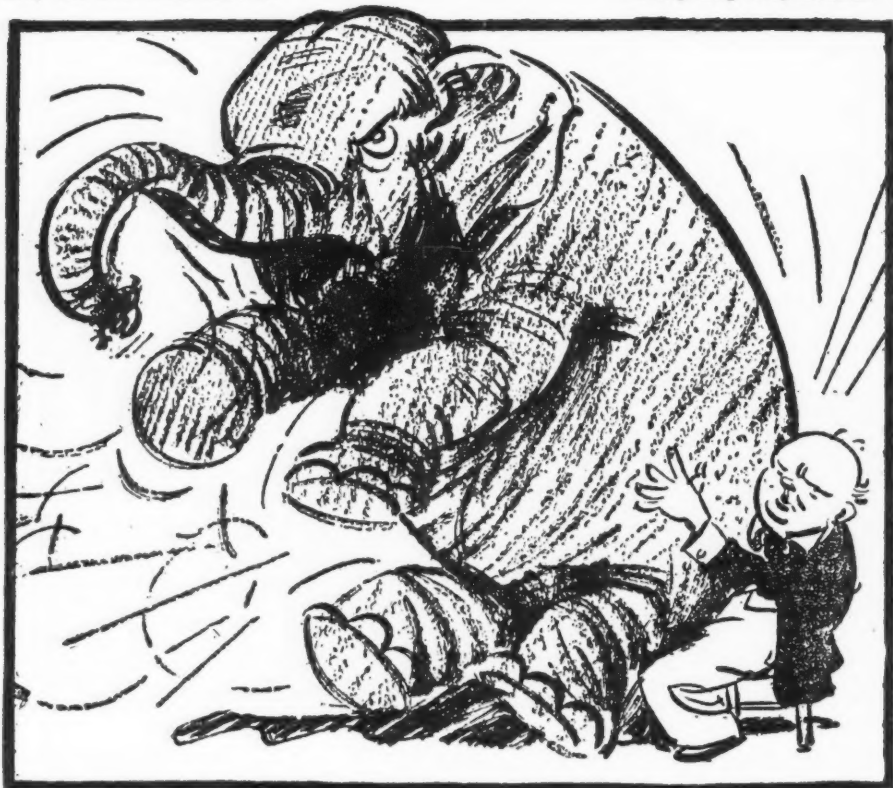
—Kladderadatsch, Berlin



#### THE BRITISH TRADE UNION BILL DISPUTE

Referee (Lloyd George): "On my right Steady Stan, the Tory champion; on my left Meandering Mac, the Labor champion, and in my pocket a nice, hard brick, and may the best man miss it!"

—Daily Express, London



#### MR. CHURCHILL: "WE MUST CONTINUE TO HOLD INDIA"

(Winston Churchill attacked British policy in India and the results of the Round-Table Conference)

—The Star, London



#### OUTLOOK UNCERTAIN

Mr. MacDonald: "Here comes the Liberal bus." The Little Bills: "Will it take us home, Daddy?" Mr. MacDonald: "If it doesn't knock us down!"

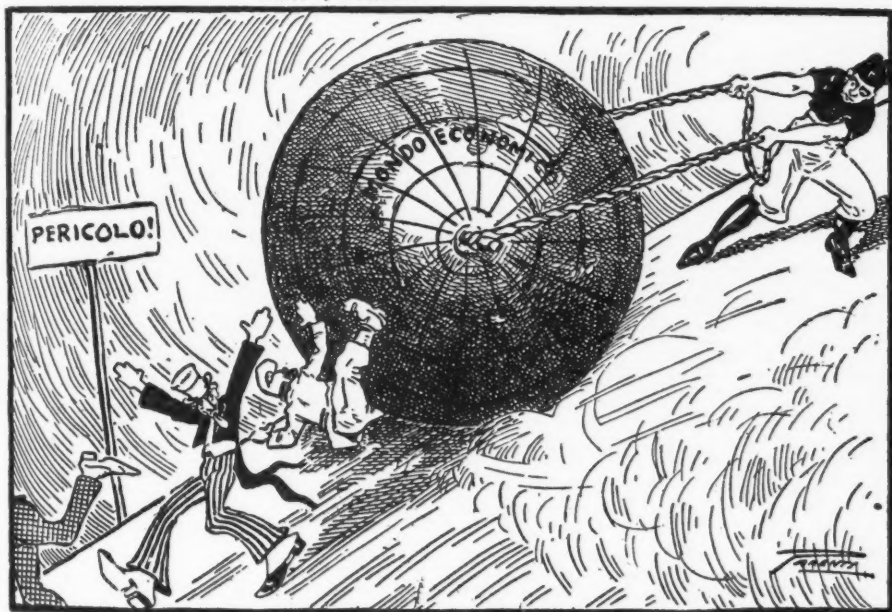
—Punch, London



#### A SOVIET VIEW OF AMERICA

Capitalist music—bank crashes

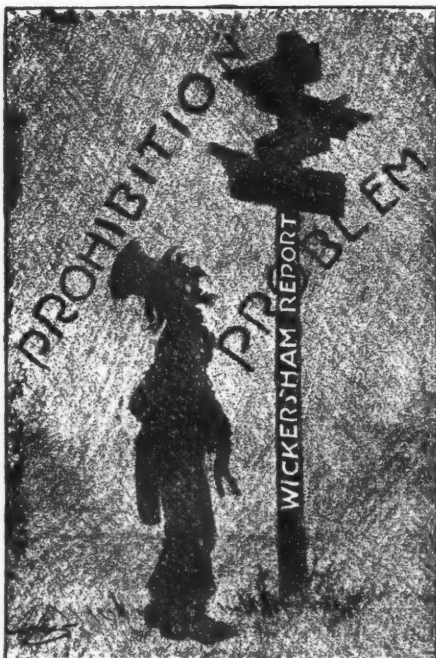
—Izvestiya, Moscow



#### FASCISM SAVING THE WORLD?

An Italian view of fascism as the only brake on a world rolling to economic destruction

—Il '420, Florence



NOW WE KNOW JUST WHERE WE  
ARE  
—New York Evening Post



HOME TO ROOST AT LAST  
—New York Herald Tribune



Nailing the first plank in the 1932 plat-  
form  
—New York Herald Tribune



THE BUGABOO  
—New York World



# A Month's World History

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## INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

**E**UROPE, indeed the whole world, is today the battleground of two opposing forces. The triumph of the one will lead inevitably toward war. Evidences of the forces leading us in this direction are on every hand. They have resulted already in war budgets larger than those before the war, in systems of national economics that have so disorganized industry and agriculture that, according to the estimates of the International Labor Office, 20,000,000 are out of work, in political conditions arising out of the "peace" treaties that are intolerable, and in a pronouncement by the greatest of our religious organizations which, if uncorrected, can have no other effect than to produce a pressure of population in certain countries that is perilous in the extreme.

Opposing these forces is another which slowly, all too slowly, is gaining ground. All over the world, in every country, there is a growing realization of our peril and a determined will to perfect an international organization powerful enough to avert it. Its development is conditioned by the extent that intelligence can win its way over fear, passion and what may appear to be temporary national advantage. Already we have the League, slowly but steadily gaining in influence and power, the World Court, the

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD  
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Locarno treaties and others of a similar nature, the Pact of Paris, and such progress as has been made

toward the limitation of armament. Just now European statesmen are seeking to erect, parallel with the League and articulated with it, a new organ, the Pan-European Union.

When the idea of such a union was brought into public discussion through the book by Coudenhove-Kalergi, it seemed wildly idealistic and impossible of realization. Fortunately there were statesmen who had vision enough to see in the conception something that might be brought within the realm of practical politics. If anything comes of it, and it now seems very likely that there will, a major part of the credit must go to Aristide Briand. It was he who, on Sept. 5, 1929, submitted to the Tenth Assembly a recommendation for the study of a plan which he outlined in his memorandum of May 17, 1930. As a result of a preliminary discussion of the plan at the Eleventh Assembly, a committee of inquiry, composed of the Premiers or Foreign Ministers of twenty-seven powers, members of the League, assembled at Geneva on Jan. 16. The convocation of so large a number of responsible Ministers was in itself a matter of great significance. Any union, such as has been proposed, will be effective only if it embraces all

Europe. The importance of cooperation with Russia and Turkey was admitted in a resolution adopted on Jan. 20 inviting them, and also Iceland, to join in future economic discussions. It was unofficially stated on Feb. 8 that Russia's acceptance was assured and that Turkey would also be represented at Geneva next May.

Although the Briand memorandum had stressed the necessity for political arrangements as a precedent to united economic action, the obviousness of the present economic distress caused the discussion largely to turn toward possibilities for its relief. The British Foreign Minister, Arthur Henderson, endorsed the opinion of Collijn of Holland that a failure to establish the proposed policy "may lead to a general tariff war in Europe, the effect of which will be very grave indeed." Three major subjects came under discussion: the tariff truce, agricultural credits and preferential duties. The consideration of the latter subject was, after some discussion, postponed until the wheat conference at Rome in March. It is hoped that some way may be found to establish such preferences without coming into conflict with the "most favored nation" provisions embodied in many commercial treaties. As a means for the establishment of agricultural credits a plan was presented for the codification of national mortgage law, the creation of a series of land banks, local, national and international, which would discount and rediscount paper based on mortgages on land and sell the securities in the international market.

In their final resolutions, adopted on Jan. 21, the commission decided to establish three committees: (1) a wheat committee composed of representatives of the four great powers, with those of Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Norway, Switzerland and Yugoslavia; (2) an agricultural credits committee composed of the four great powers, with Bulgaria, Denmark, Hungary, the Netherlands, Poland, Rumania and

Sweden; and (3) a committee on general organization of which the four great powers, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland and Yugoslavia shall be members. The last named committee will consider, aside from the method of organization and rules of procedure, problems of passports, postal service, money, hydroelectric power, the treatment of foreign business representatives, and the extension of the principle of the tariff truce convention into other fields. All these committees are expected to report in May. The commission further directed Briand to call a meeting of representatives of the European wheat exporting and importing nations, with the purpose of finding a method of disposing of the 1930 surplus; and authorized this committee to put its conclusions into effect without a reference back to the commission. The Foreign Ministers of twenty-three countries pledged themselves "to do all in their power to insure that the tariff truce convention may be speedily put into force, and actively to pursue the present bilateral negotiations resulting therefrom."

In order to allay some of the fear of war that is hampering the bond market a manifesto was issued which, while it adds nothing to the obligations which the nations have already assumed, should do something to quiet the professional purveyors of war scares. Its text is as follows:

As a result of our discussions and conversations during the last few days concerning the problems which our governments have respectively to face, it has become plain that economic recovery is now being hindered by a lack of confidence in the course of future events due to widespread political anxiety. That anxiety has been increased by irresponsible talk in various quarters concerning the possibility of an international war.

We recognize that there are political difficulties in Europe at the present time and that these difficulties have been accentuated by the economic instability and unrest which the world economic depression has caused. The

best service we can render toward the improvement of the economic position is the firm assurance of European peace.

We therefore declare, as Foreign Ministers or responsible representatives of European States, that we are more resolutely determined than ever to use the machinery of the League of Nations to prevent any resort to violence.

There can be no doubt that the results of this first meeting were distinctly encouraging, and that the responsible statesmen who met at Geneva are firmly determined on joint action in the economic rehabilitation of Europe and in the preservation of peace. The future meetings of the commission will insure that, three times in every year, the Premiers or Foreign Ministers of all of the European powers, members of the League, will assemble at Geneva for conference. Unquestionably this will be of importance not only as regards the decisions reached in the commission but quite as much in that it will buttress the League and increase its prestige. It is significant that, after much hesitation, Great Britain has allied herself unreservedly with the movement. Her relation to the dominions makes it difficult for her to be at once imperial and European.

To what extent the world's financial difficulties are due to an undue concentration of the gold supply in France and the United States no one knows, but doubtless it is contributory. France has on hand, according to the January statement of the Federal Reserve Bank, a stock amounting to \$2,100,000,000; the United States, \$4,200,000,000. Thus, the two nations together control about 60 per cent of the world's visible supply. That this situation is unsatisfactory is generally admitted, but to find a safe remedy is very difficult. The financial experts of London and Paris have been wrestling with the problem, but so far as has been reported they have reached no definite conclusion. There is some hope that some assistance may be given by the Bank for Inter-

national Settlements at Basle. At a meeting of its board of directors on Jan. 19 a committee was appointed to study the question and to work out a plan by which transfers can be made through the international bank without the loss of time and the considerable expense incident upon the shipment of the metal. The gold would remain in the vaults of the central banks in London, Paris, Berlin or New York, but enough of it would be credited as on deposit with the international bank to allow the latter to clear the accounts between two central banks as a bookkeeping operation and without the actual shipment of cash.

The Bank of France, in an effort to equalize the distribution of gold, has recently announced a policy of the extension of long-term credits to other nations. Rumania, Yugoslavia and Poland are reported to have secured such loans. Germany is said to be in negotiation with the French bankers.

Not unnaturally, the recommendation of a reduction of the war debts, made by Albert H. Wiggin of the Chase National Bank, reinforced as it was by the remarks of Paul M. Warburg, Owen D. Young and others, has been the occasion of considerable discussion abroad, though so long as Germany is able to keep up its payments under the Young plan, the project is only of secondary interest in London and Paris. There is not the slightest reason to believe, moreover, that Washington has in any way modified its position, and until a crisis has occurred, no change can be expected. In a speech before the Export Association in Chicago on Jan. 28, Edward N. Hurley, a member of the War Debts Commission, advocated, as a means of stimulating world trade, a 50 per cent reduction of the debts due to us from sixteen foreign nations, provided that the military and naval expenditures of these nations, and of the United States, are reduced in ac-

cordance with a uniform and definite plan to be agreed upon among them all. The political difficulties in the way of linking disarmament and debt reduction are very great, but it is not impossible that, tactfully handled, such a project might be successful.

One of the blows to international understanding and world peace was the ending of the Franco-Italian naval truce on Jan. 20. Since the break-down last Summer of the efforts to secure a naval agreement between the two powers it had been hoped that negotiations would be renewed. While spokesmen of both nations said that they would be ready to renew the agreement for a naval holiday, actions spoke louder than words. Italy appar-

ently is prepared to build gun for gun with France, carrying on the suspended 1930 program, which provided for twenty-nine craft — twenty-two submarines and seven other units. France has declared that she cannot accede to the Italian demand for absolute parity with Italy, although ready to accept it in the Mediterranean. Meanwhile, the prospect of the Franco-Italian naval race was causing some uneasiness in Great Britain. On Feb. 4, A. V. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty, declared in the Commons: "We have indicated that we are doing our best to get France and Italy to adhere to the principle of limitation. If we are unable to get that, we shall have to reconsider the position."

## THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

**M.** COLIJN,  
President of  
the Second  
Conference for Con-  
certed Economic Ac-

tion, reporting to the Commission of Inquiry on European Union, pointed out that all the nations accepted with enthusiasm the findings of the 1927 economic conference, but that all attempts during the past four years to translate these findings into action have been almost total failures. Tariffs have increased; a customs truce was found impossible; it was not even possible to stabilize the status quo in the "commercial convention" devised for that purpose, and many people have lost faith in the economic work of the League. If some progress is not made soon, those forces which have been working toward economic unity for Europe will be thoroughly discredited and tariff warfare will result. In such a case, political rapprochement is impossible and the outlook is indeed grave.

Presumably because of this series of failures the eminent director of the economic section of the League Secre-

By PHILIP C. NASH

*Director,  
The League of Nations Association;  
Current History Associate*

tariat, Sir Arthur Salter, had tendered his resignation to take effect at the end of 1930.

But two things have occurred to lead him to withdraw that resignation for a time—the requests of India and China for help in the rebuilding of their financial and economic systems. Sir Arthur is now in India and will proceed from there to China with Robert Haas, head of the League transit section, to advise on necessary reconstruction. Dr. Rajchman, director of the League's health organization, is already in China, and the new move will bring the directors of the three principal technical sections of the League to lead the greatest program of reconstruction yet attempted.

Those who have feared that the League might become almost entirely European in character are encouraged to see this most important activity in the Orient occurring simultaneously with the cordial reception that Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary-General, is receiving on his good-will trip to South America.

Liberia has accepted in principle



"to the full extent of its resources" the recommendations of the international commission inquiring into slavery and forced labor. Heretofore, Liberia's promises have not resulted in improving the situation materially, but the League is in earnest and has appointed a committee, with Liberia's consent, to find out what Liberian promises are worth. The committee originally included representatives of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Liberia, Spain, Venezuela and Poland. The United States was invited to cooperate and on Feb. 4 appointed Samuel Reber Jr., American Chargé d'Affaires at Monrovia, as American representative on the committee. Mr. Reber is to leave Liberia at once for Geneva, where the committee will meet. The State Department accepted the invitation of the League to cooperate in this work in these words:

The American Government is hopeful that the work of this committee, having to do with subjects regarding which the cooperation of the American Government has already been indicated through its adherence to international slavery, sanitary and other conventions, may contribute in a practical way toward the execution of highly desirable reforms destined to improve the condition of the Liberian people, for whose welfare the people of the United States have always maintained a sympathetic interest.

The nerve centre of all this world activity is, of course, the Council of the League, which met at Geneva from Jan. 19 to 25.

Disarmament was a major subject for discussion. The date of the general disarmament conference has been set for Feb. 2, 1932, but the naming of the president of the conference and the place of meeting will be decided at the May session of the Council.

The Council has won praise for its handling of the German protest against the mistreatment of minorities in Poland. It was the turn of Curtius of Germany to act as president of the Council at this session, but he asked Henderson of Great Britain to act in his place so that he

could be more free to push the protest against Poland. The Council took a firm stand against Poland in this case, and adopted the German report asking Poland for strict measures against the offenders. It is understood that Poland will really undertake the reforms suggested and will remove the Governor of Upper Silesia, who was implicated in the disturbances.

#### THE WORLD GOLD SITUATION

The League study of the world's gold situation continues to claim the close attention of economists and financiers. The Financial Committee presented to the Council on Jan. 20 the second interim report of the gold delegation, suggesting important changes in world financial policies. The fact is brought out that the first report was based on the prices of 1928. Since then prices have dropped very sharply, and the estimated gold supply of the next few years will be much more adequate to form the reserve needed at these levels than with the higher prices of 1928.

Nevertheless, the distribution and economical use of gold is one of the fundamental problems of the future. In the first place, gold should be withdrawn almost entirely from general circulation, as it already is in many countries, and used only to balance the foreign trade remittances between nations. Second, the gold reserves which banks must legally preserve as the basis of their note issues should be stored with central banks. Third, these central banks in the various countries must have considerable authority and opportunity to cooperate with each other so that gold shipments may be kept at a minimum and so that each bank may take such steps—for instance, the raising or lowering of discount rates—as will regulate the flow of gold. Such reforms as these will make it possible to reduce considerably the legal minimum reserve percentages and give greater elasticity to the whole system.

The flow of gold between nations

becomes necessary when there is temporary lack of equilibrium between the credits and debits of the nations due to emergency of some sort, such as the unstable conditions after a war, break-down of public confidence, failure of crops, etc. Whatever the cause, central banks must cooperate to restore the balance:

We believe that any measures designed to improve the mechanism for the issue of foreign loans, or to promote international transactions in existing securities, would contribute to the smooth working of the gold standard, granted the powers of central banks to control temporary disequilibria are adequate. \* \* \* But measures designed to permit the free flow of capital may prove harmful rather than beneficial if they are accompanied by restrictions on the exchange of goods and services which constitute the items of current account in the international balance of payments. Capital, as we have stated above, can only move in the form of goods or gold or claims to existing wealth. If the flow of capital is accelerated and that of goods restricted by tariffs or prohibitions, a constant strain on gold reserves and, in consequence, on the structure of credit maintaining national values may be created. A similar strain will be caused if a country endeavors to maintain its level of wages or other industrial costs above the level at which it can successfully place its goods on foreign markets. Adherence to an international monetary standard at once implies and necessitates adherence to an international economic system.

Public confidence is needed above all. Without it none of these plans can be effective:

A constant flow of monetary gold from or to any country is a sure sign of maladjustment in international values or interest rates, or of a lack of public confidence. Such maladjustment, if confidence is restored, the application of these principles should overcome.

We venture to believe that, if the principles that we have elaborated above are generally accepted and applied, more economical distribution of gold in future years may be secured, granted the general political and economic conditions are not such as to create disturbances which no monetary policy can hope to counteract. Such distribution will go far to prevent the

amount of the supplies of new gold from exercising an influence on the long-term trend of the purchasing power of gold in the future.

It is interesting to see this report adopted at the moment when George E. Roberts of the National City Bank of New York, the member of the delegation from the United States, is telling us that our huge gold reserve is no help: "I venture to say that it did as much or more harm in the United States than elsewhere. It disturbed normal conditions in the United States by supplying the basis for the greatest inflation of credit and the wildest period of speculation ever known anywhere." Similarly, at the annual convention of the League of Nations Association of the United States, held in Chicago on Jan. 22-24, other prominent American experts were preaching the same doctrine. Professor John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin maintained that wholesale prices would continue to drop until 1940 unless world-wide cooperation is undertaken to stabilize those prices exactly along the lines of the League gold report.

Besides such more spectacular subjects, the Council of the League transacted its routine business, covering many fields of interest. The permanent and advisory opium committees have been paving the way for the general opium conference on May 27. The Council accepted their reports and recommended two principles: First, that all derivatives of opium and coca, including codeine, should be considered at the conference; and, second, that the quotas allowed to the drug-manufacturing countries should be reset every two or three years.

The old trouble between Poland and Lithuania came up during the month and was again delayed in the hope that the two countries would come to an agreement between themselves. It is hinted, however, that unless some rapprochement is soon reached the Council may ask the World Court for

an advisory opinion as to whether or not Lithuania is justified in keeping the Landwarow-Kaisiadorys Railway closed.

The other conference has been concerning itself primarily with the economic situation. This is the group of agricultural experts meeting at Geneva from Jan. 11 to 14. Angelo di Nola of Italy, the chairman, said: "If the economic depression is to be fought, we should begin, it would seem, by endeavoring to settle the problem of cereals." The experts could not agree as to how this is to be done, but urged further delay. An additional step along the same line was taken by the Commission on the European Union, in appointing two committees, one on wheat, the other on agricultural credits.

Colombia has joined the other nations of the world in consummating bilateral treaties for the pacific settlement of disputes. This first venture is a treaty with Switzerland providing

for pacific settlement of all disputes between these nations, either by conciliation, arbitration, or by the World Court.

The Permanent Court for International Justice held its twentieth ordinary session at The Hague on Jan. 15. M. Adatci of Japan was elected President and Señor Guerrero of Salvador Vice President. The court also elected the members of the special chambers for labor cases, transit and communications cases, and cases of summary procedure.

Of interest was the appearance of Elihu Root, now aged 85, before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to explain the procedure of the protocols for our adherence to the court. Mr. Root emphasized the fact that the United States would retain a veto power over advisory opinions as long as we remain a member of the court, and only upon our withdrawal could an opinion be given to which we objected.

## THE UNITED STATES

**I**T is a great pity that the second report of the Wickersham Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement which was delivered to the President and submitted to Congress on Jan. 20 was not published in two parts released several weeks apart, as was the Simon Report on India. For in the excited discussion of the recommendations of the commissioners, collective and personal, very little attention was paid to the more valuable part of the report—the historical survey.

From a veritable ocean of material the commission has boiled down into an eighty-four page summary the development and present status of prohibition enforcement. After a brief preliminary history of liquor control before the Eighteenth Amendment the first sixty pages of this summary

By D. E. WOLF

are divided among three main topics: Enforcement before and

since 1927, present conditions of observance and enforcement, and, finally, the bad features of the present situation and difficulties in the way of enforcement. The last twenty pages are a discussion of these topics: "The Degree of Enforcement Demanded," "Plans Which Have Been Proposed Toward More Effective Enforcement," "Necessity of Federal Control," "Benefits of Prohibition to Be Conserved," "Summary of Foreign Systems" and "Proposed Alternatives to the Present System."

This part of the report is a record of the best information available to-day on prohibition enforcement. But since it is a reasoned attempt to wrest the truth out of a mass of conflicting evidence, it is necessarily inconclu-

sive, although this does not impair the value of the great body of factual material which should be a gold mine for future historians. Nevertheless, the body of the report is inconclusive on the main question to be answered—the question of enforceability. As the preamble says, “it is impossible to divorce the problem of enforcement from that of enforceability.” There are two tests of enforceability. Can observance of the law be brought about by educating public opinion? Can the law be enforced in the face of popular opposition by strengthening government machinery of enforcement? To the first question the report gives this much of an answer: “If, with regard to any law, *assuming a vigorous effort at enforcement*, the result is found to be that, notwithstanding enormous numbers of convictions, there is little deterrent effect and, after a decade of experience the volume of violations seems to increase steadily and the public attitude is increasingly indifferent or hostile, the question arises as to whether such a law is, in any proper sense, enforceable.”

The answer to the second question is twofold. First, nobody knows whether the law can be enforced because “there has not been the kind of test of enforceability of national prohibition which would have been desirable.” Second, corruption of Federal officials is a serious hindrance to enforcement, and the commission doubts whether it can be eliminated “so long as the money available for corruption is so wholly out of proportion to what is practicable in the way of salaries for those concerned with enforcement.” Of one thing the commission is certain—the necessity of Federal control. “In the industrial and mechanical order of today liquor control is more imperative than ever,” asserts the report, and “every plan of control must start from the fundamental fact that the business of producing and distributing alcohol transcends State lines.”

It is easy to see how this cautious and judicious method of coming at the truth, while satisfying neither ardent wets nor dries, still furnished both sides with weapons to fortify their arguments. In the same thoughtful fashion the commission approached the second great question at issue—the wisdom of the prohibition law. In a two-page chapter entitled “Benefits of Prohibition to Be Conserved,” the report observes that production of commodities has increased in volume and efficiency, and that while some employers ascribe this to prohibition, others claim it is due to better wages, hours and working conditions. Prohibition may or may not be partly responsible for the increase in savings and thrift, improvement in public health, and the decrease in industrial accidents. Nevertheless, the report maintains, these tendencies have *followed* prohibition, and this fact “must be of great weight.” Two other gains are cited: the opinion of social workers that the improved standard of living which they find must be attributed to prohibition, and the unanimous conviction everywhere that the disappearance of the saloon constitutes a blessing.

The second part of the Wickersham report consists of two pages of “Conclusions and Recommendations” by ten of the commissioners and seventy-three pages of individual “dissenting opinions” by the eleven commissioners, one of whom, Monte Lemann, did not sign the report. This part of the report provoked heated discussion and considerable confusion because the joint conclusions appeared to be contradicted by the individual statements in a number of cases, as the following summary shows:

#### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The commission is opposed to the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. [Two members of the commission, Mr. Baker and Mr. Lemann, who did not sign, favor immediate repeal.]

2. The commission is opposed to the



restoration in any manner of the legalized saloon. [Unanimous.]

3. The commission is opposed to the Federal or State governments, as such, going into the liquor business.

4. The commission is opposed to the proposal to modify the National Prohibition Act so as to permit manufacture and sale of light wines or beer.

5. The commission is of opinion that the cooperation of the States is an essential element in the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment and the National Prohibition Act throughout the territory of the United States; that the support of public opinion in the several States is necessary in order to insure such cooperation.

6. The commission is of opinion that prior to the enactment of the Bureau of Prohibition Act, 1927, the agencies for enforcement were badly organized and inadequate; that subsequent to that enactment there has been continued improvement in organization and effort for enforcement. [Commissioner Anderson dissents from this opinion.]

7. The commission is of opinion that there is yet no adequate observance or enforcement.

8. The commission is of opinion that the present organization for enforcement is still inadequate.

9. The commission is of opinion that the Federal appropriations for enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment should be substantially increased and that the vigorous and better organized efforts which have gone on since the Bureau of Prohibition Act, 1927, should be furthered by certain improvements in the statutes and in the organization, personnel and equipment of enforcement, so as to give to enforcement the greatest practical efficiency. [Commissioner Anderson dissents from this opinion. Commissioners Comstock, Loesch, Mackintosh and Pound favor more vigorous enforcement only until the Eighteenth Amendment can be amended, which they recommend be done as soon as possible. Commissioner Baker stands with them, provided the Eighteenth Amendment cannot be immediately repealed. Commissioners Wickersham, Grubb, Kenyon and McCormick favor further trial of enforcement in the hope that the amendment need not be changed.]

10. Some of the commissioners are not convinced that prohibition under the Eighteenth Amendment is unenforceable and believe that a further trial should be made with the help of the recommended improvements, and that if after such trial effective enforcement is not secured there should be a revision of the amendment. [Commissioners Wickersham, Grubb, Kenyon and McCormick.]

Others of the commission are convinced that it has been demonstrated that prohibition under the Eighteenth Amendment is unenforceable and that the amendment should be immediately revised; but recognizing that the process of amendment will require some time, they unite in the recommendations of Conclusion No. 9 for the improvement of the enforcement agencies. [Commissioners Anderson (who, however, dissents from No. 9), Baker (if repeal is impossible), Comstock, Loesch, Mackintosh and Pound.]

11. All the commissioners agree that if the amendment is revised it should be made to read substantially as follows:

Section 1. The Congress shall have power to regulate or to prohibit the manufacture, traffic in or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into and the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes.

12. The recommendations referred to in Conclusion No. 9 are:

1. Removal of the causes of irritation and resentment on the part of the medical profession by:

(a) Doing away with the statutory fixing of the amount which may be prescribed and the number of prescriptions;

(b) Abolition of the requirement of specifying the ailment for which liquor is prescribed upon a blank to go into the public files;

(c) Leaving as much as possible to regulations rather than fixing details by statute.

2. Removal of the anomalous provisions in Section 29, National Prohibition Act, as to cider and fruit juices by making some uniform provision for a fixed alcoholic content.

3. Increase of the number of agents, storekeeper-gaugers, prohibition investigators and special agents; increase in the personnel of the Customs Bureau and in the equipment of all enforcement organizations. [Commissioner Anderson dissents.]

4. Enactment of a statute authorizing regulations permitting access to the premises and records of wholesale and retail dealers so as to make it possible to trace products of specially denatured alcohol to the ultimate consumer.

5. Enactment of legislation to prohibit independent denaturing plants.

6. The commission is opposed to legislation allowing more latitude for Federal searchers and seizures.

7. The commission renews the recommendation contained in its previous reports for codification of the National

Prohibition Act and the acts supplemental to and in amendment thereof.

8. The commission renews its recommendation of legislation for making procedure in the so-called padlock injunction cases more effective. [Commissioner Anderson dissents.]

9. The commission recommends legislation providing a mode of prosecuting petty offenses in the Federal courts and modifying the Increased Penalties Act of 1929, as set forth in the chairman's letter to the Attorney General dated May 23, 1930, H. R. Rep. 1699.

From this summary it is apparent that only four of the eleven commissioners hold out any hope that the present system of absolute prohibition can be made to work satisfactorily. Three of these, Commissioners Wickersham, Kenyon and McCormick, favor a national referendum if enforcement should fail after a fair trial. Two of them, Commissioners Kenyon and McCormick, recommend revising the Eighteenth Amendment in that event.

Of the seven commissioners who advise an immediate change, two favor outright repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment—Mr. Lemann, who submitted a separate report, and Mr. Baker, who, however, joined the remaining five (Anderson, Comstock, Loesch, Mackintosh and Pound) in advocating revision of the amendment as being more feasible at this time. Of these six, all but Commissioner Comstock supported an alternative plan devised by Henry W. Anderson. This proposed that, after the amendment had been revised as indicated in Conclusion 11, Congress should create a bipartisan national commission on liquor control empowered to regulate the production, distribution and sale of alcoholic liquor much the same as the Interstate Commerce Commission regulates the railroads. Congress should then create a national corporation which would produce and sell all liquor subject to control by the national commission. The stock would be sold to the public, and the profits, over a fair return to the investor, would go to the National Treasury.

States could either have prohibition or join the national system, as they wished. Only those having license books could buy liquor, and the amount of spirits sold to one person would be limited.

The Anderson plan, which most closely approximates the Swedish system of liquor control, was declared impracticable by Mr. Wickersham and Mr. Lemann, who believed it would entail corruption and violation as bad as that of the present system.

President Hoover outlined his attitude toward the report in his message transmitting it to Congress. Mr. Hoover agreed with the recommendations of the commission for better enforcement and the majority decision against repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. But he saw "serious objections, and therefore must not be understood as recommending the commission's proposed revision of the Eighteenth Amendment, which is suggested by them for possible consideration at some future time if the continued effort at enforcement should not prove successful."

In Congress the report was received with a mixture of adverse criticism and ridicule. It was complained that it provided no solution to the prohibition problem; that the conclusions contradicted the body of the report, while the individual opinions "torpedoed" both of these. (This is Senator Borah's word.) It was observed that Mr. Hoover, who has so often expressed his faith in expert commissions as agencies for arriving at the truth, repudiated what many considered the only constructive recommendation of the report. It was even charged that the President had prevailed upon the commission to make their conclusions more favorable to prohibition. Although official denials were immediately issued, they did not deter Senator Tydings from offering a resolution to inquire into the rumor—a unique attempt to investigate an investigation.

The fact that Mr. Hoover came out

against the commission's proposed revision of the Eighteenth Amendment was interpreted as a refusal on his part to consider any change in the status quo. This impression was corrected by a "close friend" of the President, who said that Mr. Hoover opposed only this particular form of revision because it placed too much responsibility for enforcement on the Federal Government.

The Wickersham report had no immediate effect on the policy of Congress toward prohibition. Two events typical of prohibition's history in the last ten years clearly illustrated this fact. On Jan. 22 the wets in the House tried, without success, to reduce the \$11,369,500 appropriation for the Prohibition Bureau. On Jan. 27 the Senate evaded a showdown on enforcement by shelving a bill to "dry up" the District of Columbia. On Jan. 26 a Coast Guard cutter torpedoed a rum-runner, killing the captain, a Canadian. The usual investigation and Canadian protest followed. The Wickersham report did not disturb the pattern of prohibition enforcement and non-enforcement.

#### VETERAN AND DROUGHT RELIEF

Differences of opinion between the Senate and the President on two major relief measures, one involving \$25,000,000, the other \$3,400,000,000, obstructed Congressional traffic during the past month.

The full disastrous effect of last Summer's drought on some of the Southwestern States became apparent as the Winter set in. Kentucky and Arkansas were found to be in a pitiable plight due to crop failures, unemployment, delinquent taxes and bank collapses. One eyewitness reported on Jan. 18 that "cattle are starving. Drinking water has given out in many places and the typhoid rate is increasing." Chairman John Barton Payne called the situation the greatest peacetime emergency that the Red Cross had ever faced. No one denied the need

of immediate relief. The question at issue was the method.

In December Congress appropriated \$45,000,000 for seed and fertilizer loans to the farmers of this area. This was approved by Mr. Hoover on Jan. 15. Meanwhile the Red Cross had taken charge of actual relief work, the handing out of food and clothing to the sufferers, and Mr. Payne, its chairman, reported that the work could be handled adequately with funds from private sources, for which the Red Cross opened a \$10,000,000 drive on Jan. 12. Certain Congressmen believed, however, that \$25,000,000 of the public money should be appropriated for the use of the Red Cross, and an amendment to this effect was added to the Interior Department bill in the Senate on Jan. 17.

In opposing this plan, Mr. Hoover was opposing the principle of using public money for charity. "It is essential," he asserted, "that we should maintain the sound American tradition and spirit of voluntary aid in such emergency, and should not undermine the spirit which has made our Red Cross the outstanding guardian of our people in time of disaster."

Nevertheless, the Senate approved the bill and referred it to the House, which rejected the amendment after Mr. Payne had declared that the Red Cross would refuse to accept any money so appropriated. There followed a deadlock in which twenty-five Democratic Senators issued a warning on Jan. 30 that unless the \$25,000,000 and five other relief measures were approved they would force a special session. On Feb. 3 Mr. Hoover replied directly to this challenge with a calm and reasonable statement arguing the superiority of "mutual self-help through voluntary giving and the responsibility of local government, as distinguished on the other hand from appropriation out of the Federal Treasury for such purposes."

The whole controversy was finally compromised on Feb. 6 when the Sen-

ate agreed to transform its \$25,000,000 charity fund into a \$20,000,000 addition to the \$45,000,000 already appropriated for seed, feed and fertilizer loans to the farmers.

The question of veteran relief, which is complicated by a great deal of honest and rather too much dishonest sentiment, again agitated Congress during the past month. Although the government is spending close to \$1,000,000,000 a year on veterans' administration, and, according to General Hines, has available about \$425,000,000 for loans in 1931, a number of plans were proposed in Congress for paying out the total cash value of the veterans' endowment insurance certificates not due until 1945. It was estimated that this would mean an appropriation of \$3,400,000,000, which would necessitate a new government bond issue. On Jan. 25 the American Legion came out in favor of immediate cash payment.

Among those who testified before House and Senate committees that the plan would be impracticable and harmful were Secretary Mellon, Under-Secretary Ogden Mills, General Hines, chief of Veterans' Administration; Roy A. Young, Governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston; Charles E. Mitchell, chairman of the Chase National Bank, and Owen D. Young.

Secretary Mellon said that "the Treasury Department could not sell \$3,400,000,000 of bonds at the present time except on terms which it would be very hard to justify, and without complete disorganization of the government and other security markets, with the most serious consequences not only to the public credit but to our entire economic structure." Mr. Mellon's predictions were borne out when the mere discussion of a new government issue caused the bond market to decline.

Mr. Owen D. Young, while opposing the full cash payment of certificates, took the position that some further provision should be made for needy

veterans at the present session of Congress. He suggested a compromise plan by which generous loans would be extended to veterans proved to be in dire need, at a cost to the government of about \$500,000,000. Mr. Young believed that only about 30 per cent of the veterans would warrant such help and that their selection could well be left to the judgment of General Hines. There was some indication at this writing that this plan would be adopted in principle.

#### COMMUNISM IN AMERICA

The Fish Committee, which for eight months had been investigating communism in the United States, made its report on Jan. 17. It was well known that Representative Fish embarked on his investigation convinced that communism constitutes a national "menace," and the results of the inquiry did not lead him to change his mind. The report maintained that more than half a million Communists, acting on instructions from Moscow, are plotting to overthrow our government. It made recommendations, including deportation of alien Communists, exclusion of Communist immigrants, suppression of Communist publications, denial of citizenship to Communists and suppression of the Communist party. It suggested that the government send agents to Russia to investigate Soviet conditions of labor with a view to excluding products of forced labor, and that Congress place an embargo on Soviet manganese.

Bills were immediately introduced in the House to carry out some of these recommendations and a committee waited on Secretary Mellon to urge an embargo on Soviet lumber and pulp wood. But the treasury has opposed this move for some time and there was no indication that its decision would be reversed. Assistant Secretary of State Lowman told the House Ways and Means Committee that such an action would mean a loss of \$120,000,000 in our export trade



with Russia. Unexpected, therefore, was the treasury's decision on Feb. 10, based on evidence of convict labor, to place an embargo on lumber and pulpwood from four White Sea districts.

That the Soviet Government was keenly interested in the Fish report was evidenced by editorials in leading Moscow newspapers. *Izvestiya* commented: "To oppose recognition of the Soviet Union and simultaneously to demand official investigations of conditions existing in said union—that is literally a skyscraper of impudence."

A restatement and defense of the State Department's policy toward the Latin-American republics was made in a speech delivered by Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State, before the Council on Foreign Relations on Feb. 6. Mr. Stimson's address was in the nature of a reply to recent attacks upon this policy, notably that of John Bassett Moore (see *CURRENT HISTORY*, January, 1931, page 594). The Secretary of State defined the Monroe Doctrine as "a declaration of the United States versus Europe, not of the United States versus Latin America." He pictured the present administration as returning to the recognition policy of Jefferson, after President Wilson's departure from that policy in refusing to recognize the Mexican Government of Huerta in 1913, because it rested on violence. Mr. Stimson criticized the Wilson policy as

"seeking actively to propagate these [free constitutional] institutions in a foreign country by the direct influence of this government and to do this against the desire of the authorities and people of Mexico." The Jefferson policy, he asserted, was not to base recognition upon the form of government, so long as it was firmly established and discharged its international obligations. Nevertheless, Mr. Stimson maintained that the agreement among the five Central American republics, not to recognize revolutionary governments, sponsored by Mr. Hughes, had prevented much bloodshed.

In the Senate on Feb. 7 Senator Robinson of Arkansas declared Mr. Stimson's defense of the Hughes policy and criticism of the Wilson policy to be inconsistent. Senator Borah maintained that Mr. Stimson's reasoning, pushed to a logical conclusion, must lead to recognition of the Soviet Government. The first Latin-American reactions to the speech came from Argentina and Ecuador on Feb. 8. They regarded this new declaration as a distinct advance toward a more enlightened and liberal policy, but regretted that it left the "dark spots" of our occupation of Porto Rico, Haiti and Nicaragua still unexplained. As one of a succession of historic pronouncements on this subject by our Secretaries of State, Mr. Stimson's speech is reproduced below in full.

## Secretary Stimson's Statement on Our Latin-American Policy

*[Delivered before the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City on Feb. 6, 1931]*

**D**URING the past two years widespread economic depression and consequent unemployment have brought instability and unrest not only at home but in many other countries of the Western Hemisphere. Since March, 1929, there have been revolutions in no less than seven Latin-American republics, resulting in the forcible overthrow in six of them of the existing governments. These changes, and the armed contests

by which some of them have been accompanied, have presented to the State Department of this country a rapid succession of difficult problems for decision. It was inevitable in such a situation that criticism of our decisions should be excited, and it has been. Therefore, this evening, I shall place before you from the standpoint of the State Department a brief statement of the facts as well as of the underlying principles and reasons

upon which some of these recent decisions have been based. In particular, I shall discuss the principles by which we have been guided in the recognition of the new governments which have arisen and also the principles which have underlain our action in the regulation of the sale and transportation of arms and munitions to the countries which have been involved in strife.

As a background for this discussion a brief review of the general policy of the United States toward the other republics of this hemisphere during the past century is pertinent. That policy, in its general conception, has been a noble one. From the beginning we have made the preservation of individual independence of these nations correspond with our own interest. This was announced in the Monroe Doctrine and has been maintained ever since. That doctrine, far from being an assertion of suzerainty over our sister republics, was an assertion of their individual rights as independent nations. It declared to the world that this independence was so vital to our own safety that we would be willing to fight for it against an aggressive Europe. The Monroe Doctrine was a declaration of the United States versus Europe—not of the United States versus Latin America. In taking this position in the Western Hemisphere, our policy has coincided with the basic conception of international law, namely, the equal rights of each nation in the family of nations. The law justly regards this conception as the chief protection of weak nations against oppression. Our people led in the recognition of the independence of those countries with an instinctive readiness which was based upon their sympathy with the doctrine upon which that independence rested. In the language of John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State at the time:

"The principles upon which the right of independence has been maintained by the South American patriots have been proved not only as identical with those upon which our own independence was asserted and achieved, but as involving the whole theory of government on the emphatically American foundation of the sovereignty of the people and the inalienable rights of men. To a cause reposing upon this basis the people of this country never could be indifferent, and their sympathies have accordingly been, with great unanimity and constancy, enlisted in its favor."

I am not forgetful of the fact that the foreign policy of every nation is devoted primarily to its own interest. It also rises and falls with the character and wisdom of the individuals or groups who from time to time are in power. I do not close my eyes to the occasional dark spots

which have been charged to that record, particularly seventy-five or eighty years ago. But the actions which were the foundation for the most serious of these charges were directly attributable to the influence of slavery in this country, then at the height of its political power, and that influence has long since been wiped out in the blood of a great Civil War. They have no more reflected the democratic idealism which has generally characterized our foreign policy at its best than the fugitive slave act has fairly reflected our domestic social policy. In spite of these and all other aberrations, it is a very conservative statement to say that the general foreign policy of the United States during the past century toward the republics of Latin America has been characterized by a regard for their rights as independent nations which, when compared with current international morality in the other hemisphere, has been as unusual as it has been praiseworthy.

People are sometimes prone to forget our long and honorable fulfillment of this policy toward our younger sister nations. It was our action which obtained the withdrawal of French imperialism from Mexico. It was our influence which provided for the return from Great Britain of the Bay Islands to Honduras, and the Mosquito Coast, including Greytown, to Nicaragua. It was our pressure which secured the arbitration of the boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela and which later secured by arbitration the solution of serious disputes between Venezuela, Germany and Italy. Between the republics themselves our influence has constantly been exerted for a friendly solution of controversies which might otherwise mar their independent and peaceful intercourse. To speak only of recent matters, I may refer to the long-standing Tacna-Arica dispute between Chile and Peru, and the open clash between Bolivia and Paraguay, both of which have been settled under our auspices. During the past seven years our good offices have resulted in the settlement of eight boundary disputes between eleven countries of this hemisphere. In our successive Pan-American conferences, as well as in the Pan American Union, the fundamental rule of equality, which is the mainstay of independence, has been unbroken. Action is taken only by unanimous consent. No majority of States can conclude a minority, even the smallest and weakest. This is in sharp contrast to the practice which prevailed in the former Concert of Europe, where only the great powers were admitted on a basis of equality. It is also at variance with the original

organization of the covenant of the League of Nations, where it was proposed that a majority of the seats in the Council should be permanently occupied by the great powers.

While such recognition of their equal rights and national independence has always been the basic foundation upon which our policy toward these republics has rested, there is another side of the picture which must be borne in mind. The basic principle of equality in international law is an ideal resting necessarily upon postulates which are not always and consistently accurate. For independence imposes duties as well as rights. It presupposes ability in the independent nation to fulfill the obligations toward the other nations and their nationals which are prescribed and expected to exist in the family of nations. The hundred years which have ensued since the announcement of our policy toward these republics have contained recurring evidence of how slow is the progress of mankind along that difficult highway which leads to national maturity and how difficult is the art of popular self-government. Years and decades of alternations between arbitrary power at one time and outbreaks of violence at another have pointed out again and again how different a matter it is in human affairs to have the vision and to achieve the reality.

Furthermore, the difficulties which have beset the foreign policy of the United States in carrying out these principles cannot be fully understood without the comprehension of a geographical fact. The very locality where the progress of these republics has been most slow; where the difficulties of race and climate have been greatest; where the recurrence of domestic violence has most frequently resulted in the failure of duty on the part of the republics themselves and the violation of the rights of life and property accorded by international law to foreigners within their territory, has been in Central America, the narrow isthmus which joins the two Americas, and among the islands which intersperse the Caribbean Sea adjacent to that isthmus. That locality has been the one spot external to our shores which nature has decreed to be most vital to our national safety, not to say our prosperity. It commands the line of the great trade route which joins our eastern and western coasts. Even before human hands had pierced the isthmus with a seagoing canal, that route was vital to our national interest. Since the Panama Canal has become an accomplished fact, it has been not only the vital artery of our coastwise commerce but, as well, the link in our national defense which protects the defensive power of our fleet. One cannot fairly appraise American policy

toward Latin America or fully appreciate the standard which it has maintained without taking into consideration all of the elements of which it is the resultant.

Like the rocks which mark the surface of a steady river current, facts and circumstances which I have just outlined have produced ripples in the current of our steady policy toward the Latin-American republics. Some of them have resulted in temporary intrusions into the domestic affairs of some of those countries, which our hostile critics have not hesitated to characterize as the manifestation of a selfish American imperialism. I am clear that a calm historical perspective will refute that criticism and will demonstrate that the international practice of this government in the Western Hemisphere has been asserted with a much readier recognition of the legal rights of all the countries with which we have been in contact than has been the prevalent practice in any other part of the world. The discussion of the particular topics which I am bringing before you this evening will, I hope, help to develop the character, trend and uniformity of our country's policy.

The recognition of a new State has been described as the assurance given to it that it will be permitted to hold its place and rank in the character of an independent political organism in the society of nations. The recognition of a new government within a State arises in practice only when a government has been changed or established by revolution or by a coup d'état. No question of recognition normally arises, for example, when a king dies and his heir succeeds to the throne, or where as the result of an election in a republic a new chief executive constitutionally assumes office. The practice of this country as to the recognition of new governments has been substantially uniform from the days of the administration of Secretary of State Jefferson in 1792 to the days of Secretary of State Bryan in 1913. There were certain slight departures from this policy during the Civil War, but they were manifestly due to the exigencies of warfare and were abandoned immediately afterward. This general policy, as thus observed, was to base the act of recognition not upon the question of the constitutional legitimacy of the new government but upon its de facto capacity to fulfill its obligations as a member of the family of nations. This country recognized the right of other nations to regulate their own internal affairs of government and disclaimed any attempt to base its recognition upon the correctness of their constitutional action. Said Mr. Jefferson in 1792:

"We certainly cannot deny to other

nations that principle whereon our own government is founded, that every nation has a right to govern itself internally under what forms it pleases, and to change these forms at its own will; and externally to transact business with other nations through whatever organ it chooses, whether that be a king, convention, assembly, committee, president, or whatever it be."

In these essentials our practice corresponded with the practice of the other nations of the world. The particular considerations upon which our action was regularly based were well stated by Mr. Adeo, long the trusted Assistant Secretary of State of this government, as follows:

"Ever since the American Revolution entrance upon diplomatic intercourse with foreign States has been de facto, dependent upon the existence of three conditions of fact: the control of the administrative machinery of the State; the general acquiescence of its people; and the ability and willingness of their government to discharge international and conventional obligations. The form of government has not been a conditional factor in such recognition; in other words, the de jure element of legitimacy of title has been left aside."

With the advent of President Wilson's Administration this policy of over a century was radically departed from in respect to the republic of Mexico, and, by a public declaration on March 11, 1913, it was announced that:

"Cooperation [with our sister republics of Central and South America] is possible only when supported at every turn by the orderly processes of just government based upon law, not upon arbitrary or irregular force. We hold, as I am sure that all thoughtful leaders of republican government everywhere hold, that just government rests always upon the consent of the governed, and that there can be no freedom without order based upon law and upon the public conscience and approval. We shall look to make these principles the basis of mutual intercourse, respect and helpfulness between our sister republics and ourselves."

Mr. Wilson's government sought to put this new policy into effect in respect to the recognition of the then Government of Mexico held by President Victoriano Huerta. Although Huerta's government was in de facto possession, Mr. Wilson refused to recognize it, and he sought through the influence and pressure of his great office to force it from power. Armed conflict followed with the forces of Mexico, and disturbed relations between us and that republic lasted until a comparatively few years ago. In his sympathy for the development of free

constitutional institutions among the people of our Latin-American neighbors, Mr. Wilson did not differ from the feelings of the great mass of his countrymen in the United States, including Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams, whose statements I have quoted; but he differed from the practice of his predecessors in seeking actively to propagate these institutions in a foreign country by the direct influence of this government, and to do this against the desire of the authorities and people of Mexico.

The present administration has declined to follow the policy of Mr. Wilson and has followed consistently the former practice of this government since the days of Jefferson. As soon as it was reported to us, through our diplomatic representatives, that the new governments in Bolivia, Peru, Argentina, Brazil and Panama were in control of the administrative machinery of the State, with the apparent general acquiescence of their people, and that they were willing and apparently able to discharge their international and conventional obligations, they were recognized by our government. And, in view of the economic depression, with the consequent need for prompt measures of financial stabilization, we did this with as little delay as possible in order to give those sorely pressed countries the quickest possible opportunities for recovering their economic poise. Such has been our policy in all cases where international practice was not affected or controlled by pre-existing treaty.

In the five republics of Central America—Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica—however, we have found an entirely different situation existing from that normally presented under international law and practice. As I have already pointed out, those countries geographically have for a century been the focus of the greatest difficulties and the most frequent disturbances in their earnest course toward competent maturity in the discharge of their international obligations. Until some two decades ago war within or without was their very frequent portion. No administration of their government was long safe from revolutionary attack, instigated either by factions of its own citizens or by the machinations of another one of the five republics. Free elections, the cornerstone upon which our own democracy rests, had been practically unknown during the entire period. In 1907 a period of strife, involving four of the five republics, had lasted almost without interruption for several years. In that year, on the joint suggestion and mediation of the Governments of the United States and Mexico, the five republics met for the purpose of considering methods in-



tended to mitigate and, if possible, terminate the intolerable situation. By one of the conventions which they then adopted the five republics agreed with one another as follows:

"The governments of the high contracting parties shall not recognize any other government which may come into power in any of the five republics as a consequence of a coup d'état or of a revolution against the recognized government, so long as the freely elected representatives of the people thereof have not constitutionally reorganized the country."

Sixteen years later, in 1923, the same five republics, evidently satisfied with the principle they had thus adopted and desiring to reinforce it and prevent any future evasions of that principle, met again, re-enacted the same covenant, and further promised each other that even after a revolutionary government had been constitutionally reorganized by the representatives of the people they would not recognize it if its President should have been a leader in the preceding revolution, or related to such a leader by blood or marriage, or if he should have been a Cabinet officer, or held some high military command during the accomplishment of the revolution. Some four months thereafter our own government, on the invitation of these republics which had conducted their meeting in Washington, announced through Secretary Hughes that the United States would in its future dealings with those republics follow out the same principle which they had thus established in their treaty. Since that time we have consistently adhered to this policy in respect to those five republics.

We followed that policy in Guatemala in the case of a recent revolution in which some fifty-seven people were killed. General Orellano, the leader of the revolt, set himself up as the Provisional President of that republic on Dec. 16, 1930. On Dec. 22, 1930, we notified him that in accordance with the policy established by the 1923 treaty he would not be recognized by us. No recognition was granted him by any of the other four republics. Following this, he tendered his resignation and retired from office; and on Jan. 2, 1931, through the constitutional forms provided in the Guatemalan Constitution, Señor Reina Andrade was chosen Provisional President by the Guatemalan Congress and immediately called a new election for a permanent President. Thereupon this country and the other four republics recognized the government of Señor Reina Andrade.

Since the adoption by Secretary Hughes, in 1923, of the policy of recognition agreed upon by the five republics in their convention, not one single revo-

lutionary government has been able to maintain itself in those five republics. Twice, once in Nicaragua and once in the case of Guatemala, just described, a revolutionary leader has succeeded in grasping the reins of government for a brief period. But in each case the failure to obtain recognition has resulted in his prompt resignation, on account of his inability to borrow money in the international markets. Several times within the same period a contemplated revolution has been abandoned by its conspirators on the simple reminder by a Minister from this country or one of the other republics that, even if they were successful, their government would not be recognized; and undoubtedly in many more cases has the knowledge of the existence of the policy prevented even the preparation for a revolution or coup d'état. In every one of these cases the other four republics have made common cause in the efforts of the United States to carry out their policy and maintain stability. When one compares this record with the blood-stained history of Central America before the adoption of the treaty of 1923, I think that no impartial student can avoid the conclusion that the treaty and the policy which it has established in that locality has been productive of very great good.

Of course, it is a departure from the regular international practice of our government, and it undoubtedly contains possible difficulties and dangers of application which we in the State Department are the last to minimize and in case of which, should they arise, this government must reserve its freedom of action. But the distinction between this departure, which was suggested by the five republics themselves, and in which we have acted at their earnest desire and in cooperation with them, and the departure taken by President Wilson in an attempt to force upon Mexico a policy which she resented, must be apparent to the most thoughtless student. A few weeks ago Judge John Bassett Moore, who as counselor of the State Department was a member of Mr. Wilson's Administration, criticized Mr. Wilson's departure from the former practice of this country, and he included within his criticism the departure initiated by the treaty of 1923. He did not, however, point out the foregoing radical difference of principle between the two policies, nor the entirely different results which have followed each, and which thus far seem quite to justify the policy of 1923. Furthermore, it may be noted that one of the dangers which might be apprehended from this policy of recognition adopted by the five Central American republics under the treaty of 1923 has not materialized.

One of the most serious evils in Central America has been the fact that throughout the history of those republics, until recently, it has been the habitual practice of the President who held the machinery of government to influence and control the election of his successor. This has tended to stimulate revolution as the only means by which a change of government could be accomplished. The danger was therefore manifest that this treaty of 1923 might result in perpetuating the autocratic power of the governments which were for the time in possession. As a matter of fact, this has not happened. On the contrary, significant improvement has taken place in election practice. The Government of Nicaragua of its own motion has sought and obtained the assistance of the United States in securing free and uncontrolled elections in 1928 and 1930. The Government of Honduras, in 1928, without any such assistance, conducted an election which was so free that the party in power was dispossessed by the Opposition party; and a similar free election has apparently occurred in 1930. For nearly 100 years before 1923 free elections have been so rare in Central America as to be almost unique. Of course, it is too early to make safe generalizations, but it would seem that the stability created by the treaty of 1923 apparently has not tended to perpetuate existing autocracies but, on the contrary, to stimulate a greater sense of responsibility in elections.

I will now pass to the subject of the policy of this government in respect to the export of arms and munitions to countries which are engaged in civil strife. Twice during the present administration we have had to make important decisions and take important action in respect to this subject. The first of these occasions was in March, 1929, when a military insurrection broke out in the republic of Mexico. This insurrection was of serious nature and extent. It involved disturbances in many of the Mexican provinces and much fighting and bloodshed. Acting under a joint resolution of our Congress, adopted in 1922, this government maintained an embargo upon the exportation of all arms and munitions which might reach the rebels. At the same time it permitted the sale and itself sold arms and ammunition to the established Government of Mexico, with which we were then, and had been for a number of years, in diplomatic relations. In about three months the insurrection was suppressed, and I think it can be fairly said that it is due in no slight degree to our action in this matter that the feelings of hostility on the part of Mexico to the United States which had existed ever since the

Huerta régime in 1913 were finally ended, and the relations of the two countries became friendly and cordial.

The second occasion was in October, 1930, when armed insurrection had broken out against the Government of Brazil. In the same way in which we had acted toward Mexico, we permitted that government to purchase arms both from our government and from our nationals in this country; and when the Ambassador of Brazil brought to our attention the fact that arms were being purchased in this country for export to the rebel forces fighting against the recognized government, we placed an embargo against the exportation of such arms. Two days later the Government of Brazil suddenly fell, the immediate cause being the revolt of its own garrison in Rio de Janeiro. In placing the embargo upon the exportation of arms to the Brazilian rebel forces, our government acted under the same joint resolution of our Congress of 1922, and with the same purpose and upon the same policy as had guided our action in the case of Mexico and in other cases where action has been taken under that resolution. That purpose was "to prevent arms and munitions procured from the United States being used to promote conditions of domestic violence" in the countries whose governments we had recognized and with which we were in friendly intercourse.

In the case of Brazil there also was in effect a treaty between the United States and Brazil which made it compulsory for us to act as we did in placing this embargo. With Mexico that treaty had not yet gone into effect. This treaty was the convention executed at Havana on Feb. 20, 1928, between the United States and the twenty Latin-American republics, providing for the rights and duties of States in the event of civil strife. Between its signatories it rendered compulsory the policy of protecting our Latin-American sister republics against the traffic in arms and war material carried on by our nationals, which previously the joint resolution of 1922 had left within the discretion of the Executive. The language of the treaty of 1928 is as follows:

"Article 1—The contracting States bind themselves to observe the following rules with regard to civil strife in another one of them: \* \* \*

"3. To forbid the traffic in arms and war material, except when intended for the government, while the belligerency of the rebels has not been recognized, in which latter case the rules of neutrality shall be applied."

Our action in regard to Brazil has been criticized by gentlemen who have con-

fused the legal situation which existed in Brazil with an entirely different situation. We have been criticized for "taking sides in that civil strife," as if we had been under the duty to maintain neutrality between the Brazilian Government and the rebels who were seeking to overthrow it. Under the law of nations the duty of neutrality does not arise until the insurgents have assumed the status of a belligerent power between whom and the mother country other governments must maintain impartiality. This occurs when a condition of belligerency is recognized either by the parent State itself or by the governments of other nations. Such a situation arose in our Civil War when the Confederate States, having occupied exclusively a portion of the territory of the United States and having set up their own capital at Richmond, were recognized as belligerents by the nations of Europe. It has not arisen in any of the recent revolutions of Latin America, whether successful or unsuccessful. The revolutionists in Brazil had not been recognized as belligerents either by the Brazilian Government, by the United States, or by any other nation. Until that happens, under the law and practice of nations, no duty of impartiality arises either on the part of our government or our citizens. Until that time there is only one side toward which, under international law, other nations owe any duty. This is so well established as to be elementary. It was recognized in the clause of the treaty of 1928 which I have just quoted. It is recognized in the standard legal treatises, including that of Mr. John Bassett Moore, who cites among other precedents an opinion of one of our Attorney Generals and says that

"[It [the United States neutrality act of 1818] would extend to the fitting out and arming of vessels for a revolted colony whose belligerency had not been recognized, but it should not be applied to the fitting out, &c., of vessels for the parent State for use against a revolted colony whose independence has not in any manner been recognized by our government."

Until belligerency is recognized and the duty of neutrality arises, all the humane predispositions toward stability of government, the preservation of international amity, and the protection of established intercourse between nations are in favor of the existing government. This is particularly the case in countries where a civil strife has been as frequent, as personal, and as disastrous as it has been in some sections of Central and South America during the past century. The law of nations is not static. It grows and develops with the experience of mankind, and its development follows the line of

human predispositions and experiences such as those to which I have referred. The domestic legislation of the United States prescribing the duties of its citizens toward nations suffering from civil strife is following the line of these predispositions and is blazing the way for the subsequent growth of the law of nations. I am not one who regards this development of American domestic legislation, exemplified by the joint resolution of 1922, as a departure from the principles of international law or as a reactionary or backward step. The reverse is true.

Although I have had little occasion to deal with the subject of international law from an academic viewpoint, it has happened that at different times during my life I have occupied public offices where I came in official contact with international conditions before they were remedied by the beneficent effect of the joint resolution of 1922, and its predecessor, the joint resolution of 1912. Twenty-five years ago, as United States Attorney in the Southern District of New York, much of my time and energy were devoted to the enforcement of the so-called neutrality acts of the United States. Our laws were then insufficient to control the shipment of arms from this country, even when the purpose of stirring up strife, sedition and revolutions in the republics to the south of us was manifest. I can remember the time when a single concern here in New York City used to make it known that they were fully prepared to outfit on short notice, for war service, expeditions of any size up to 10,000 men. I personally witnessed the activities by which some of our munitions manufacturers for sordid gain became a veritable curse to the stability of our neighboring republics. Later, as Secretary of War, I became a witness to the fact that our own citizens were sometimes the innocent victims of domestic strife in adjacent countries stirred up by this disgraceful traffic. When an insurrection broke out in Mexico, the first effort of the rebels was usually to try to seize the custom house on one of the important railroad crossings between our two countries, in order that they might freely receive arms and ammunition from this country. And I myself have seen the bullet marks on the houses in El Paso, Texas, caused by a conflict of this kind in Juarez across the river, in which a score of innocent citizens of El Paso, going about their accustomed duties on American soil, were killed or injured. With these personal experiences in mind, I had little difficulty in reaching the conclusion that those who argued for the liberty of our munitions manufacturers to continue for profit a

traffic which was staining with blood the soil of the Central American republics were not the progressives in international law or practice.

I am glad that I had a share in the drafting of the joint resolution of 1912, and I have studied closely the progress of its remedial effect upon the conditions which it was designed to cure. I am glad to find that that effect has been beneficial. By our own government it has been found so beneficent that in 1922 its scope was extended from civil strife in America to civil strife in certain other portions of the world. By 1928 its beneficent influence was so generally recognized that, at the great Pan-Ameri-

can Conference which was held in Havana in that year, all of the nations of this hemisphere embodied in the treaty of 1928 as a definite and compulsory legal obligation the same policy which we had been able in 1912 to initiate as a discretionary power of the American President. I believe that this marks the line which the law of nations will eventually follow throughout the world. When it does so, I believe that international law and practice will have achieved another step forward toward the ultimate peace of mankind. It is my hope that the decisions of the State Department during the past two years will be found to have assisted in this beneficent progress.

## MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

**T**HE postponement of gold payments on the Mexican foreign debt for a period of two

years was agreed upon in New York on Jan. 30, 1931, by Mexican Finance Minister Montes de Oca and Thomas S. Lamont, chairman of the International Committee of Bankers on Mexico. The new agreement, which supersedes the one of July 25, 1930, was made necessary by the recent sharp decline in the value of the Mexican silver peso. The July agreement fixed the rate of exchange at 42.25 cents, American currency, per Mexican silver peso. Since then, the peso, in sympathy with silver, declined in value to 41.19 cents. In signing the new agreement, therefore, the International Committee of Bankers on Mexico recognized that the Mexican Government, whose revenues are received chiefly in silver, cannot provide the necessary amount of gold. At the normal rate of exchange the value of the silver peso is 3 per cent below gold, but during the past few months it has fallen as low as 18 per cent below gold. Late in January the peso was fluctuating between 12 and 14 per cent below the value of gold.

During the two-year period that the Mexican Government will be permitted to postpone gold payments on its in-

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debtedness it will, according to Mr. Lamont,

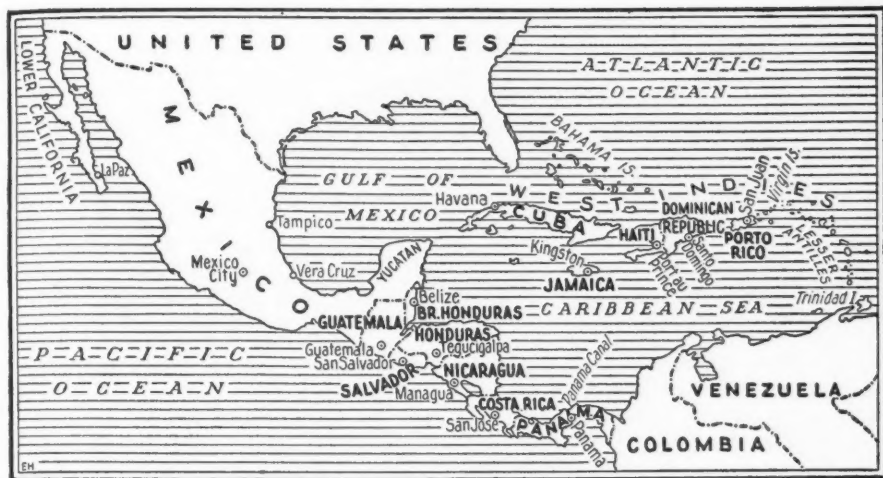
pay to the committee [of bankers] in silver pesos the equivalent of

the payments scheduled for 1931 and 1932 the total amount of \$25,500,000 United States gold, as provided in the agreement of July 25, including the \$5,000,000 previously deposited under the agreement, which will be converted into silver for such purpose. The silver will be lodged in a responsible depository in Mexico City. In the event that within the two-year period the exchange situation permits the conversion of the silver fund into gold and the transfer of the proceeds thereof to the committee in New York, this plan will be followed. In any event, however, the government holds itself responsible to the committee to see to it that at the end of the two-year period the full amount originally named—\$25,500,000—shall be remitted for the benefit of the bondholders.

Under this agreement the bondholders are faced with the possibility of no gold disbursements until the conclusion of the two-year period; on the other hand, the two-year moratorium gives the Mexican Government an opportunity to adjust its budget to any permanent change in the value of the Mexican silver peso.

The opening on Dec. 30 of a \$15,000,000 credit for the Mexican Government with the National City Bank





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in Mexico City was designed to stabilize the peso and restore foreign exchange to normal. Benefits from this credit, which is payable in from six months to two years, were apparent almost immediately, and on Jan. 2 the premium of gold over silver, which was as high as 15 per cent a few days earlier, was down to 10 per cent.

To provide for the further study of unified international flood control by the United States and Mexico of the Rio Grande and other rivers along the international boundary, President Hoover on Jan. 9 requested Congress to make available at once \$287,000 to the American Section of the International Water Commission. According to a complete plan for making the study, which was submitted at the same time by Secretary of State Stimson, allotments are as follows: \$155,000 to the study of the control of the Rio Grande; \$64,000 to the study of the control of the lower Colorado River; and \$68,000 to office expenses at San Antonio.

An earthquake of major intensity on Jan. 14 rocked fourteen States in Southern and Central Mexico. The disturbance centred in the State of Oaxaca, where enormous damage was done

and approximately 100 persons lost their lives. It resulted elsewhere in the damaging of fifty buildings, the death of one person and the wounding of fifteen or twenty others as far north as Mexico City. At Cuernavaca many cracks appeared in the walls of the old palace of Hernán Cortés, which serves as the State capitol of Morelos, and whose patio walls were recently decorated with murals at the expense of former United States Ambassador Morrow. Shortly after the Oaxaca earthquake the volcano of Colli, near Guadalajara, showed signs of activity after being dormant for centuries. Moreover, Popocatepetl, the famous volcano fifty miles from Mexico City, was smoking constantly.

#### REBEL OPPOSITION IN NICARAGUA

Rebel opposition in Nicaragua apparently stiffened during January. During the first week of the month several engagements with insurgent forces were fought in the Ocotol region where eight American Marines were killed on the last day of December. A letter alleged to have been written by the rebel leader Sandino and made public on Jan. 6, stated that since it was necessary to destroy

Nicaragua in order to save it, final orders had been issued "to burn the cities of our republic, because if the invading assassin, destroying our national autonomy, is going to rob us of our homeland, at least he will have to rebuild it over the ashes of our bodies."

In a cablegram to the editor of *The New York Times* on Jan. 13 President Moncada stated, in part:

I am offering no objection to the Marines remaining in Nicaragua, because they have worked arduously to secure liberty and order within my country. For this the Nicaraguans are obligated to wage war against the bandits. In regard to the necessity for more Marine officers and medical officers \* \* \* we, the Nicaraguans, are obliged to restore peace to our country and to stanch the blood of the wounded. \* \* \*

Two groups of Sandinistas, numbering respectively 40 and 200 men, attacked National Guard barracks in the Ocotal region on Jan. 20. The assaults were unsuccessful and without casualties among the National Guardsmen. The insurgent losses were unknown. Three days later a Marine patrol of twenty-five men engaged an insurgent group without casualties to the Marines. Four insurgents were captured.

On Feb. 4 it was announced that a credit of about \$1,000,000 was to be arranged through the International Acceptance Bank of New York to relieve the financial stringency in Nicaragua. The credit, which has the approval of Secretary of State Stimson, was also to be used to strengthen the National Guard and to develop public works. The basis of the credit is a reserve which has gradually been accumulated in New York by the deposit of Nicaraguan customs receipts.

A boundary treaty between Nicaragua and Honduras was signed in Managua on Jan. 21. The pact, which is designed to settle a dispute of many years, provides that the boundary shall be settled by a commission in accordance with an award made by the King of Spain in 1906. The neutral

member of the commission is to be an engineer who is to be appointed by the United States Department of State.

#### NEW PRESIDENT OF PANAMA

Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro, Panaman Minister to the United States for the past eight years, who was declared by the Panaman Supreme Court on Jan. 2 to be the constitutional successor to President Arosemena, sailed from New York for his country on Jan. 10. Six days later he took the oath of office as fifteenth president of Panama. The previous day United States Minister Davis at Panama was notified that the United States Government considered the recognition which already had been accorded to the former government of President Arosemena automatically continued to the Alfaro régime. The President-designate received a most enthusiastic welcome upon his arrival at Colon and at Panama City earlier in the day. A special guard of honor of 300 members of the Accion Comunal escorted Dr. Alfaro. This organization, which for three years has stood for electoral reform and honesty in government, was chiefly responsible for the revolution that overthrew the government of President Arosemena two weeks earlier.

The election of a President, Vice President and other national officers was held in El Salvador on Jan. 11, 12 and 13. Incomplete returns on Jan. 21 indicated that Arturo Araujo, an agricultural leader, was elected Chief Executive by a vote of 104,093 votes, as against 64,097 for Gómez Zárate, the highest of his three opponents.

#### CUBA VERGES ON REVOLUTION

Cuba during January continued, as it has done for the past six months, to sway on the verge of a revolution. The situation in Cuba at the end of January had not changed except possibly for the worse, since the begin-

ning of the month, when it was described by H. N. Denny, staff correspondent of *The New York Times*, as follows:

Martial law has been declared; public meetings have been suppressed; a censorship has been imposed and newspapers have been silenced; scores of the government's critics have been imprisoned; fatal riots have occurred in many parts of the island, and soldiers have charged the citizenry even on the magnificent Prado in the heart of Havana. \* \* \* Each conspiracy as it has been discovered has been more serious and more widespread than the preceding, yet President Machado holds on. \* \* \* The attitude of the Cuban Army is the now all-important factor in the present Cuban crisis. If it remains loyal to Machado, it is inconceivable that any popular movement can drive him from office. If it should go against him he would fall overnight. The Cuban Army, \* \* \* exceptionally large in proportion to the population of the country, \* \* \* consists of about 11,000 men, and, in addition, there is a navy composed of about 1,150. Besides these forces there is a rural guard of more than 6,000 men and a national police force of more than 2,000. All these men serve under the direct authority of the President.

The publication on Jan. 7 of a national patriotic program for the solution of all political problems was either unfounded or ill-timed. It was followed two days later by a Presidential decree which suspended indefinitely the publication of one anti-government English language newspaper and several Spanish language newspapers in Havana. Subsequently other newspapers throughout the republic were suspended. This action was reported to have been taken in order to prevent central and western sections of Cuba from learning of a revolutionary movement which was said to have started in the provinces of Camaguey and Oriente. President Machado on Jan. 10 denied the existence of revolt in any section of Cuba and declared that the suspension of important newspapers was due to the persistence of the publishers in cooperating with the Opposition in creating public unrest and riots. A commission for the suppression of the ex-

isting "unbearable" state of unrest and alarm and for the maintenance of public order was named by President Machado on Jan. 10.

President Machado's suspension of Havana newspapers evoked general protest. The editors of *El Mundo* and *Diario de la Marina*, the two largest Spanish language newspapers that were suppressed on Jan. 9, described this action as a violation of the Constitution. Telegrams of protest against the suspension of Havana newspapers were sent on Jan. 16 to President Machado and Secretary of State Stimson on behalf of the Press Congress of the World by James W. Wright, publisher of *Editor and Publisher*, and Dr. Walter Williams, president of the University of Missouri, both of whom are members of the executive council of the Press Congress. The confiscation and indefinite suspension of *El País*, one of the leading Spanish language newspapers of Havana, was declared by the Supreme Court of Cuba on Jan. 24 to be unconstitutional. That same day two newspapers in Pinar del Rio Province were suppressed by military authorities.

The deportation of John T. Wilford, editor and publisher of the anti-Machado newspaper, the *Havana American*, and a resident of Cuba for twenty years, was decreed by President Machado on Jan. 15. Upon reaching Miami the following day Wilford issued a statement in which he admitted that as a foreign resident of Cuba he had no right to comment on Cuban internal politics, but he bitterly criticized the alleged tyranny of President Machado and charged that he had the support of United States Ambassador Guggenheim.

The destruction of sugar cane fields by fires of incendiary origin, which began early in the month, was continued at intervals, resulting in a total destruction of over 32,000,000 pounds of sugar cane. Bomb explosions which had been common during the preceding month also continued during January. A bomb was exploded on Jan.

14 in a passageway next to the Union Club, a fraternal and social organization in Havana, creating considerable alarm but doing little damage. But the explosion of a bomb under a main aqueduct in Havana on Jan. 20 curtailed the city's water supply and created a veritable geyser at an important street crossing. Government officials blamed the plot on Communists and on Jan. 21 the arrest of a Communist leader and the seizure of 542 pounds of high explosives were reported. Raids that were made on Jan. 16 on all of the leading hardware stores of Havana to enforce the law restricting the sale and storage of firearms and explosives resulted in the confiscation of enormous quantities of explosives.

Punitive action against student elements that have been most active in opposing President Machado for the past few months was continued by police and government officials during January. Twenty-two members of the Students' Directorate of the National University of Havana were arrested on Jan. 3 and were charged with sedition, conspiracy and revolutionary propaganda at the university and with conspiring against the government with the Nationalists and other oppositionists. On Jan. 18 twelve professors and teachers of the National University and the Havana Provincial High School were indicted in

Havana on charges of conspiracy against the government.

The attempt to call a general strike on Feb. 3 as a protest against the political developments in Cuba apparently came to nothing the next day when the workers affiliated with the National Federation of Maritime Workers resumed activities. Two days earlier the strike promised to be most serious, as labor organizations of almost every class had voted to quit work for an indefinite period. On Feb. 3 riots and clashes between the police and workmen occurred when attempts were made to arouse interest in the strike. But the next day the linotype operators who had brought about the suspension of the Spanish-language newspapers in Havana for twenty-four hours returned to work and dock workers were again on the job.

An "emergency economic bill," designed to give further tariff protection to Cuban industry and agriculture, providing substantial modifications in the taxation system of the country and creating a series of new levies and a general increase in customs duties on luxury articles, was passed by the Senate on Jan. 14. Nine days later the Chamber of Deputies, after making some drastic amendments, approved the bill by an overwhelming majority. The bill had the approval of President Machado.

## SOUTH AMERICA

**T**HIS month the chronicle of the South American nations must record a political element that seems largely to offset whatever encouraging items of news there may be in the economic sphere. Electoral disorders, the menace of bitter partisan politics where hopes of party cooperation for national welfare were strongest, rumors of revolutionary activities—all these appear in this month's pic-

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ture, giving a deeper hue to the gloomy colors in which so much of recent South American history has

necessarily been depicted.

The election of Dr. Olaya Herrera as President of Colombia a year ago was followed by an era of good feeling that augured well for the new administration as well as for Colombia's success in dealing with her serious financial problems. The new Presi-





SOUTH AMERICA

dent took office with what was practically a coalition government, and applied himself earnestly to the solution of his country's problems. All reports agree that he has held himself steadily aloof from partisan politics. His program has been going forward steadily, if not melodramatically. On Dec. 14 the President approved the 1931 budget, which had previously been passed by the Senate and House of Representatives, providing for appropriations of approximately \$51,000,000 (as compared with some \$70,000,000 for 1930) and with estimated revenues of about \$11,000,000 in excess of expenditures. The only increases in the budget were in the appropriations for education and for the treasury, the former as part of a campaign to reduce illiteracy and the latter mainly for debt services. The new budget legislation also limited the national debt to a figure such that requirements for interest and amortization of loans should not exceed 30 per cent of the annual income. The pending new oil law, while not satisfactory

to some foreign companies, represents a conscientious effort to solve equitably the question of foreign exploitation of Colombia's oil resources and is the result of consideration by a commission appointed by the President, among the members of which was George Rublee, an American lawyer who had been adviser on petroleum matters to former Ambassador Morrow in Mexico. The railway situation, also a major problem, has likewise given signs of ultimate solution. Dr. Germán Uribe Hoyos, a graduate of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute and chairman of the National Transportation Commission, on Dec. 13 succeeded Dr. Fabio Lozano as Minister of Public Works, indicating the probable adoption of a policy to drop the extremely costly and ill-advised Ibaque railway project contracted for by the Abadia Administration. American bankers announced in January that passage of the administration's proposed railway reorganization bill would justify a loan by them of \$8,000,000. In short, genuine progress in several respects was being made by the administration.

While preparations were being made in December for the Congressional elections, set for Feb. 1, party passions began to rise to dangerous heights in spite of the President's unceasing efforts to insure fair elections and his strict adherence to a non-partisan rôle. Disputes about registration and the selection of election officials led to rioting on Dec. 30 at Capitanejo, in the State of Santander, in which eleven persons were killed and about a score injured. On Jan. 12 three persons were killed and a number injured in a riot at Cartago, in the State of Caldas. Other disorders occurred throughout the month of January, culminating in the wounding of twenty-eight people during riots at Medellín on Jan. 26. Leaders of both parties were vigorously taken to task by the President for their lack of interest in the country's financial problems. "The efforts of the Na-

tional Government would be sterile," he said, "if citizens were unwilling to live together in a civilized manner, instead of being ready to kill each other in absolute heedlessness of the country's welfare."

Every effort was made to insure a peaceful and fair election. "Repeating" was made punishable by law with three years' imprisonment and loss of political rights, and as a practical precaution each voter was made to dip his forefinger in indelible ink, making him recognizable if he should undertake to vote at another place. The sale of liquor was forbidden for a period of four days, beginning two days before the election. Motor and railway traffic was suspended on election day. In spite of these precautions, serious rioting occurred on the day of the elections in two departments, with reports of deaths varying from an official report of eight killed and fourteen wounded to unconfirmed press reports of fifty-four killed and about 100 injured. Unofficial results indicated that the Liberals (the President's party) received a larger popular vote than the Conservatives—about 419,000 to about 319,000—but that the Conservatives would have 29 seats in the Senate to 27 for the Liberals. This, however, means a reduction of Conservative strength.

#### THE BOLIVIAN ELECTIONS

The other country in which party cooperation seems for the time being at least to have been thrown to the winds is Bolivia. It is true that Dr. Daniel Salamanca, the coalition candidate for the Presidency, was elected President on Jan. 4 without opposition, but the hope of cooperation between the three political groups—Liberals, Genuine Republicans and Personalist Republicans—went no further. The association on one ticket of Dr. Salamanca representing the Genuine Republicans, former President Montes representing the Liberals, and former President Saavedra representing the *Personalistas* as candidates for the

Presidency and the two Vice Presidencies then contemplated was pointed out here (see CURRENT HISTORY for October, 1930) as not likely to last at the time it was announced. The intimation became fact a month before the elections, when the coalition was broken by the withdrawal of Dr. Montes and the inauguration of a contest between José Tejada Sorzano and Dr. Saavedra for a single Vice Presidential post, Dr. Saavedra being soundly beaten. On the following Sunday, Jan. 12, another election was held to vote on the proposed new Constitution as well as for municipal officers. Here again the Liberals won over both Republican groups. Charges, in papers supporting Dr. Saavedra, of the use of "slush funds" by the Liberals and of discrimination on the part of the Minister of the Interior under the military junta, Colonel Mariaca Pando, had been made after the Congressional elections. After the municipal elections the President-elect took cognizance of charges that impartiality had not been observed in some localities in a telegram to a local political leader instructing him not to rely on the government authorities, as they had been shown to favor the Liberals. This raised an issue between the President-elect, hitherto not involved in political disputes, and the military junta. It led to an exchange of open letters by General Blanco Galindo, head of the junta, and Dr. Salamanca. General Blanco Galindo asked Dr. Salamanca to define his charges and named a commission of inquiry into political conditions in the department of Cochabamba, in which the charges centred and where a candidate had been assassinated on the day before the elections. Dr. Salamanca replied with a statement that his charges applied only to remote districts, not under the close supervision of the central government, and paid tribute to the military junta, which, he said, "has fulfilled its duties with an unselfishness and patriotism unsurpassed in Bolivian history." A crit-

ical situation was thus avoided, but the main quarrel between Liberals and Personalists went on. Dr. Saavedra's Administration of the Presidency (1920-25) has been bitterly attacked by the Liberals, who have termed the American loan of 1922 negotiated by him as scandalous. The Personalists have countered with charges based on papers found in the government files during the Saavedra Administration, and purporting to show that Dr. Montes while President carried on secret negotiations for the union of Bolivia with Chile. This seems rather far-fetched, of course, from the point of view of the historical background, if nothing else. Along with this activity has gone an effort in some circles to prolong the military government, in the interest of efficiency and stability, by postponing the inauguration of Dr. Salamanca and the opening of the new Congress. Such a move would probably arouse popular resentment. The junta has met charges against it—particularly that members on the junta have been receiving two salaries, as officers in the army and as Ministers—by a denial and by the appointment of a committee to investigate the conduct of all its members.

Efforts to remedy the financial situation are continuing. The budget for 1931 announced on Feb. 1 carries a total of \$11,500,000, as compared with over \$17,000,000 in 1930 and more than \$34,000,000 in 1929. The government has announced that a further cut of more than \$1,000,000 would be necessary in order to avoid a deficit at the end of 1931.

#### URUGUAY'S NEW PRESIDENT

On Jan. 21 Dr. Gabriel Terra was declared to have been chosen President of Uruguay in the elections of Nov. 30, 1930, by the Electoral Court. Dr. Terra actually received a total of 136,186 votes, but was officially credited with 165,069, the total cast by his party, the "Colorados," under

a peculiar feature of the Uruguayan electoral law which gives all the Colorado votes to the candidate of the Colorado faction polling the highest vote. The "Blanco" candidate, Dr. Luis Alberto Herrera, received 131,777 votes, and the candidate of the "Riverista" faction of the Colorados (Dr. Terra is a "Batllista"), Dr. Pedro Manini Ríos, received 28,772, just 115 short of the 17½ per cent of the total Colorado vote which under a party agreement would have given him the Presidency. Since this situation is unusual, to say the least, it may be pointed out that the practice of crediting the leading Colorado candidate with the entire vote of the party is based upon definite legislation. The arrangement whereby a pronounced minority could have elected a President is, on the other hand, a matter of party agreement only. Under the agreement, Dr. Terra was to have withdrawn if the Riverista candidate received the required 17½ per cent of the party vote, allowing the entire vote to go to Dr. Manini Ríos. Charges of fraud in the elections have been widespread, both among the Blancos and among the Riverista faction.

The economic and financial situation in Uruguay is not promising. Exchange has declined, and legislation has been proposed to establish governmental control of all exchange operations. A number of public works projects, including the purchase by the government of the Central of Uruguay Railway, have been postponed. The public debt on Dec. 31 was announced as \$239,434,826, an increase during 1930 of \$22,244,487. The government has been authorized by Congress to control the grain market by purchase of the entire exportable surplus of wheat and corn, with exclusive selling rights for export.

On Feb. 4 the Chilean Senate passed a bill granting President Carlos Ibáñez dictatorial powers during the

four-month recess of Congress. The Chamber of Deputies had already approved the bill.

The legislation, requested to meet possible financial emergencies, gives acts of the President, if countersigned by the Premier, the validity of legislation.

Dr. Getulio Vargas, head of the provisional Government of Brazil, announced on Jan. 24 that if normalization proceeds satisfactorily elections would be held on Oct. 24, 1931, one year after the success of the revolution, for the adoption of a new Constitution and election of a President.

## THE BRITISH EMPIRE

**S**UPERFICIALLY the Parliamentary situation in Great Britain during January bore all the marks

of the sacrifice of principle to party bargains to insure the retention of power by the Labor party. Parliament did not re-assemble until Jan. 20, but the month was filled with private and public negotiations between Labor and Liberals. Mr. Baldwin thought he had a chance to defeat the government and was heartened by the dramatic defection from the Liberal-Labor alliance of Sir John Simon and seven of his supporters, but his own party was so lax in attendance in the House that he had to issue a sharp reminder to them of their duty to oust the government whenever the chance offered. Then Mr. Churchill proved to be so determined to prevent concessions to India that he had to be read out of the inner committee of the Conservative opposition. (See pp. 848-853 of this issue.) Mr. Baldwin, in accepting his resignation, did so with the proviso that he expected his assistance in defeating Labor. Yet, after it all, the Labor government weathered the storms and seemed on the whole to be as secure or insecure (until the budget in April) as it had ever been.

The cost was considerable, and only part of it was divided between the allied parties on their *quid pro quo* basis—Labor's revision of the law on strikes and trade union political levies in return for the Liberals' electoral

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reform. The former was designed to give back to Labor the bargaining power and the political financial

strength which it lost after the general strike. The latter, it was hoped, would by the alternative vote continue to insure that the Liberals would hold the balance of power in a three-party Parliamentary system. The fact that both bills have already excited opposition in the Lords, thereby making two years of power in Commons necessary for their passing, added unreality to the situation. The chief legislative casualties of the struggle were the shelving of General E. J. Higgins's bill to increase the power of the General and diminish that of Commander Evangeline Booth and the democrats in the Salvation Army, and the defeat of Sir Charles Trevelyan's bill to raise the school attendance age to 15. Yet the trade disputes bill passed its second reading with a majority of 27 and went to committee in spite of Simon's defection and Churchill's taunt that MacDonald was to him "the boneless wonder" of a circus freak show. The alternative vote bill on Feb. 3 received a majority of 295 to 230 on the second reading. After what the London *Times* called "an inexcusable waste of time," the bill then went through the committee stage.

Much more realistic was Parliamentary and national preoccupation with falling revenues, unemployment and economy, although no opportunity was afforded for their systematic dis-





THE BRITISH EMPIRE

cussion. Last year British external trade fell by over \$1,650,000,000 (about 20 per cent), and public revenue followed suit. The unemployed among 12,000,000 insured employables rose to 2,643,000, of whom seven-eighths were receiving unemployment benefit. It is not hard to imagine what would occur if they were not. The insurance fund is now \$300,000,000 in debt, although the term "dole," that is, benefits paid to those not legally entitled to them, applies only to 400,000 persons. The royal commission of investigation has received official reports which make it clear that the present law must be amended to permit further borrowing, probably \$200,000,000 for 1931 alone. The Ministry of Labor admitted that the original insurance theory had broken down under the unanticipated strain and that large numbers of the insured unemployed had made contributions far out of line with the benefits received and receivable. Small wonder that a non-political campaign for strict national economy won the support of such outstanding persons as Viscount Grey and Sir Robert Horne and that war-debt revision began to be talked of again.

Matters reached a crisis in two large industries, coal and textiles, and approached one among the railway men. These events reflected some-

thing like a nation-wide drive to lower wages and were positive symptoms of the country's economic woes. The coal dispute centred on South Wales and required the most strenuous efforts of the government and the parties concerned from Jan. 1 to Jan. 17 to reach a conclusion and entailed a complete stoppage of work during that period for about 130,000 men. Valuable export contracts were lost to the Continent. The government on the whole sided with the miners, with William Graham, president of the Board of Trade, shouldering most of the negotiation and mediation. Finally an exceedingly intricate agreement was arrived at involving longer hours for the November wages and to stand for three years, although subject to immediate and thereafter annual review as to minimum percentage and subsistence wage. If the seven-hour day is restored in July, 1931, wages will again have to be agreed upon. The settlement was regarded as a victory for the miners, but the substitution of conciliation for stoppages in the future was a victory for the nation.

Affairs went very badly in the textile trade, where trouble began in December over the cotton employers' determination to raise the number of looms per weaver to eight where the new automatic looms were involved,

and their threat of a complete lock-out in response to a protest strike of 4,000 weavers at Burnley on Jan. 5. Neither side would yield, a condition perhaps to be expected in an industry involved in a world decline of production and one in which American and Japanese use of the automatic loom has sharpened competition greatly. The owners promised slow extension of the new system, but indicated that they would include under it the older types of looms where these were used for standard plain cloths. On Jan. 10 all the 25,000 weavers of Burnley were locked out. Two days later the government intervened to ward off a general Lancashire lockout, but failed after hours of conference, and 200,000 operatives were locked out on Jan. 26, with repercussions among the spinners and finishers still to come. No settlement had been reached by the end of the month.

The question of railway wages was brought before the National Wage Board on Jan. 19, with the employers' proposal for a six-shilling reduction per week and a minimum of thirty-eight shillings instead of forty as part of a plan to cut wages and salaries by \$47,500,000 a year and further in relation to the decline in the cost-of-living index. Naturally, all these wage disputes involved a Labor Government and acquired a political tinge.

The Prime Minister announced on Jan. 19 that the government had not found evidence of forced labor upon which to base a boycott of Russian timber products, and on Jan. 26 the Soviet Government refused to countenance an official British investigation of the labor conditions in the timber industry.

The passive mutiny on the submarine tender *Lucia* at Portsmouth on Jan. 4, which originated over shore leave, had the unusual result of short sentences upon four of the men, along with the announcement in Parliament that the officers were chiefly to blame. Certain of these were retired on half-pay under censure of the Admiralty

and the *Lucia* received an entirely new complement of officers and men.

#### INDIA AND THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The Round Table Conference on Indian Affairs was rushed to its close on Jan. 19, the day before Parliament assembled again. There was no feeling either that a perfect constitution for India had been drafted or perfect agreement reached, but it was obviously important to reach some compromise which should have sufficiently substantial support in England and India to insure its defense against the extremists in both countries. Affairs were given a good start when Mahatma Gandhi and his associate committeemen in the All-India Congress were released from prison and when Mr. Baldwin pledged Conservative party support to the recommendations of the conference, even at the cost of a public break with the stubborn Mr. Churchill. Now it is up to the Round Table conferees in both countries to stand off both kinds of irreconcilables and test their ideas in practice. The situation has marked analogies to that in the Irish Free State in 1921-22.

The draft principles of the Constitution represented an unlooked-for degree of achievement, although there are certain to be difficulties in adjusting details. Mr. MacDonald indicated that the constitutional structures and practice of the United States and Japan would furnish criteria. The basic circumstance is that executive responsibility to the Legislatures was conceded in both the Central Government and the provinces. This great shift from the proposals of the Simon Commission is to be attributed to the entry of the Native States. Sir John Simon dealt only with British India. The Princes, by declaring for immediate federation of British India and most of the States, and coupling with this proposal that of executive responsibility at the centre, changed the entire complexion of affairs.

The Federal Legislature is to be bi-

cameral with a Senate of 100 to 150, probably chosen, as in the United States up to 1913, by the State Legislatures, and with a House of Representatives of 250, chosen either by direct popular vote or by graduated indirect votes. The Senators and Representatives from the Native States are likely to be nominees of the Princes and their Councils. Responsible Cabinet Government is to exist, although modified in several ways. Except in sharing Cabinet responsibility the Ministers of Defense and Foreign Affairs are responsible to the Governor General. The Minister of Finance in the same way is responsible to the Legislature for internal finance and to the Governor General for external. Finally, every foreign loan requires the Governor's approval and he is to have at his disposal a consolidated fund sufficient to pay the army, interest charges on the public debt and the civil and pension lists now standing. In emergencies (with extensive safeguards) the Governor may intervene to preserve order or protect minorities.

Congress opinion in India received this scheme as "a cup of milk for a hungry lion," but at the Round Table praise was louder than censure. Very generous tributes were paid to Lord Sankey for his impartiality. No notable criticism of the reservation of foreign affairs or of the Governor's emergency powers was made, and it was agreed that steady Indianization of the army and the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst would take the sting out of the reservation of defense. (See pp. 867-871.) The financial provisions proved to be somewhat humiliating and provoked criticism of a very sane sort. The gold standard and the prevailing economic depression have confused the scene in India and precautions were felt necessary.

In spite of fine words and oratory, the minorities questions were not settled. The Moslems fought what seems to have been a losing battle and had actually reached accord with the

Hindus when the Sikhs of the Punjab upset everything by demanding increased representation. The extreme Moslem demand was for a unified State comprising the present Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and Northwest Frontier State. This was not regarded as possible because of the peculiar military circumstances of the Northwest. The basis of the Hindu-Moslem pact was 49 per cent Moslem representation in Punjab, 46 per cent in Bengal and separate communal electorates in the provinces where Moslems are in a minority. When there are added the Christians (Protestant and Catholic), the Parsees, the Eurasians and the Depressed Classes, the minorities problem becomes almost insuperable and it has already confused the issues in India since the adjournment of the conference.

Affairs in India during the month were so disturbed and confused that no generalization seemed justified except that India has been hard hit by the world depression. It is impossible to separate economic and political motives in resistance to tax-gatherers in the villages, strikes and riots in the cities and even in Gandhi's campaign of civil disobedience. Nationalism and the profit motive clashed in the boycotts of foreign cloth and in the attempts to make salt, with piety added in the case of the pickets at the liquor shops. No-rent campaigns were popular. The Congress leaders tried to head and control the unrest, but with tens of thousands in jail the control was intermittent and not always consistent. Disorders between Hindus and Moslems added confusion.

Following their release from prison, Gandhi and his Congress friends were not able greatly to clarify the issue. On Jan. 22 the working committee decided to keep up civil disobedience. The Mahatma on Jan. 26 promised to study the conference proposals and discuss them with the returning delegates, but next day he supported the continuance of civil disobedience in spite of Mr. MacDonald's offer of po-

litical amnesty in return for a declaration of civil order. His objections to a truce centred on continuance of the abuses connected with liquor, foreign cloth and salt making. Further action awaited the conferences between those returning from London and the Congress committeemen, and it was freely predicted that now a new round-table meeting must be held in India.

#### UNREST IN BURMA

In Burma the raids on property and attacks on police and officials, which began in December, continued during January in spite of the efforts of official punitive expeditions. Their character emerged more clearly as being closely connected with tax-resistance during the slump in the rice trade, but they proved useful as well to Burmese emulators of the Indian campaign for independence. The government on Jan. 2 announced that, because of the fall in the price of agricultural produce, it would consider the revision of the scale of land taxes. The rebellion went on, however, in spite of mass arrests, and its leader, self-styled "King of Dragons," issued anti-English manifestoes and organized village burnings. He was formerly a quack doctor and he has shown remarkable skill in capitalizing rural unrest for his own vague purposes. As the month progressed the rebellion became sporadic, and aerial and other reconnaissances failed to reveal any large gatherings of rebels. In Rangoon itself the elders of the Chinese and Burmese communities succeeded in checking the murderous three-day civil war between them. Thus the Burmese situation has been serious and seems likely to remain so, for the government has declared its inability, either alone or in conjunction with Delhi, to take any steps which would put the rice-growers, merchants and millers in a more favored position than the population concerned in other and equally depressed branches of agricultural production. Unquestionably, also, the separation of Bur-

mese affairs from Indian at the Round Table Conference has convinced many of the politically self-conscious that Burma is fated to lag behind India in her movement toward autonomy.

#### CANADIAN PROBLEMS

The Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Bennett, began the year with as heavy a sheaf of national problems as any chief executive in the world. At bottom was the decline of some \$600,000,000 (about 22 per cent) in external trade during the fiscal year ended Nov. 30. Its political effect was a budget deficit estimated at \$100,000,000, for a considerable proportion of the national revenue comes from customs duties, and imports from the United States alone declined \$230,000,000. Mr. Bennett indicated on Jan. 22 that borrowing rather than increased taxation would be the means of tiding over the emergency. The barometers of prosperity are grain and wood-product prices, but while their decline seemed checked, they showed no signs of marked improvement, and Winnipeg wheat prices remained obdurately at almost 25 cents a bushel less than the rate that the tariff and the United States Farm Board maintained in Chicago. Yet neither during his tour of the West at the turn of the year nor after his return could Mr. Bennett be wooed into price-fixing. Instead, he talked of the efforts of the Canadian Ministers in Europe and the Orient to find markets, and heartened the Prairie Provinces by accepting their request that freight rates on the new Hudson Bay Railway be fixed on the basis of the Crows Nest Pass agreement. The *Northwestern Miller* (and presumably the flour-millers) of Minneapolis found the Canadian method of farm relief much more to their taste than their local brand, but Canadian farmers along the boundary line winced under the startling difference in prices.

Two matters of international importance engaged attention, one in-



volving Great Britain and one the United States. Sir Basil Blackett, chairman of Imperial and International Communications, Ltd., the huge British semi-governmental wireless, cable and telegraph system, had a conference with the Cabinet on Jan. 12 and invited the Canadian National, Canadian Pacific and Canadian Marconi communication systems to unite in a single company in cooperation with his own along the lines initiated elsewhere in the empire after the Imperial Conference of 1928. Sir Basil expressed himself as satisfied with the parley, and is to return later. He said that President E. W. Beatty of the C. P. R. was favorable, and that, while the Radio Corporation had a minority interest in Canadian Marconi, control was in British hands. A more serious obstacle was the "permanent" working agreement between Canadian National and Western Union. This alliance and that between C. P. R. and Postal Telegraph result in a good deal of Canadian duplication of staffs and services and the loss by Canada to American concerns of a large amount of foreign business. The advantages to I. I. C. and Canada were fairly obvious, but there was some fear of monopoly. I. I. C. has been a weak competitor in transatlantic business, and if the Dominion Parliament should approve the merger, its position would be greatly improved.

The publication of its report on Jan. 3 by Governor Roosevelt's St. Lawrence Power Development Commission brought international waterways into prominence again. Their scheme of a single dam project on the international rapids contained a two-step arrangement to meet Canadian objections to a single-dam project and promised a cost of \$171,000,000, or \$70,000,000 less than the double-stage plan. Private Canadian response was hostile, and inasmuch as the American situation is complicated by the relations of Federal and State author-

ities, and the Canadian by that relation among the Dominion Government, public-ownership Ontario and private-ownership Quebec, it can be seen that there are abundant opportunities for delay. Both national sections of the International Joint Board of Engineers have prepared projects. Early in January C. A. Magrath retired from the chairmanship of the Ontario Hydro-Electric Commission, and it was held that he did so in order to devote all his time to the Canadian section of the International Joint Commission, of which he is chairman. Thus events seemed to have moved forward a little in the long-debated question of St. Lawrence waterways and power.

Mr. Bennett caused much speculation at the end of January by a three-day visit to Washington, which he described as "unofficial" and for the purpose of looking over the Canadian Legation. Secretary Stimson said that his incognito consisted in "the wearing of a derby rather than a silk hat," and while the reporters and photographers were rebuffed very completely, visits and interviews with President Hoover, Mr. Stimson, the Governor of the Federal Reserve Board and other officials provoked attention. Questions of population movement between the two countries continued under discussion, and so far as British and Newfoundland born emigrants from Canada to the United States were concerned, seemed likely to necessitate clearer definition of Canadian nationality, because many of these have been prohibited re-entry to Canada. The pursuit and capture of the liquor-runner Josephine K. near New York, involving the death of her captain by shellfire, added a further element to the problems attending prohibition.

Within Canada the regulation of radio broadcasting has occupied the public. Sir John Aird's royal commission recommended eighteen months ago a system under national control somewhat like the British Broadcast-

ing Company, and public opinion has slowly been marshaled in its support. Canadians object to radio advertising and dislike the present allocation of channels as among Canada, the United States and Mexico. Their proposal is the substitution of a powerful national system, supported by indirect advertising, a government subsidy, and increased license fees for receiving sets.

The appointment of the Earl of Bessborough as Governor General of Canada was announced on Feb. 9. He is an Irish peer, a well-known industrialist, and was for ten years a Conservative member of the House of Commons.

#### AUSTRALIAN PROBLEMS

Probably Australia's unhappy economic plight was best reflected by her exchange rate on London. On Jan. 5 the rate rose from 8 or 9 per cent to 15. On Jan. 6 it rose unofficially to 19, and on Jan. 13 the Bank of New South Wales set it at 18. On Jan. 17 the affiliated banks raised it to 25, thus seriously embarrassing Australians abroad and rendering debt payments difficult, although assisting exporters. A clear division became apparent between the Left Wing of the ruling Labor party and the more conservative elements. The former were bent on the time-honored plan of inflation and the latter on general economy and financial rehabilitation along the lines of the rejected Niemeyer proposals of last year. Mr. Scullin, the Prime Minister, hastened his return from the Imperial Conference by going overland from Perth and set about at once to oppose the inflationists. New South Wales proved to be stubbornly opposed to Mr. Scullin and the Federal Loan Council and boycotted the conference called to discuss a three-year scheme of rehabilitation. While Mr. Scullin was away Mr. J. E. Fenton, Minister of Trade, had acted in his place and Mr. A. Lyons had borne the brunt of opposing inflation and floating a redemption loan. On Jan. 27 the one resigned and on Jan. 29 the other.

The reason given was Mr. Scullin's reinstatement of Mr. E. G. Theodore (a mild opponent of inflation) as Federal Treasurer, although he had not been cleared of some six-month-old charges of corruption. The expected split in the Federal Labor party thus materialized and Mr. Scullin was seriously weakened. There was, however, no clear indication of a successful popular revolt against Labor government.

Meanwhile there was a parallel struggle over wages, which was complicated greatly by New South Wales reducing railway hours to 44 per week while Federal railway employees worked 48 for the same wages. The Australian Arbitration Court reduced certain basic wages in December and on Jan. 22 decreed a 10 per cent cut in basic wages, with the expectation of further cuts in accordance with the reduced index of the cost of living. There were riots in Adelaide on Jan. 9 and Jan. 11 and the whole situation was exceedingly involved.

In spite of the opinions of Sir Edward Mitchell and John Fullager, Australian constitutional authorities, that because the British Cabinet had no share in it Sir Isaac Isaacs's appointment as Governor General was invalid, he was sworn in on Jan. 22 and was succeeded as Chief Justice by Sir Frank Gavin Duffy. The King's commission bore in addition to the royal signature that of the Prime Minister of Australia as counter-signature instead of that of the British Secretary of State for the Dominions.

Earthquakes on Feb 3 along the east coast of North Island, New Zealand, caused the worst disaster in the history of the dominion. The towns of Napier and Hastings were almost completely destroyed, with a damage that would run into millions of pounds sterling. Estimates on Feb. 5 placed the dead at more than 1,000. Meanwhile milder shocks were continuing. The cruisers *Dunedin* and *Diomedes* were rushed from Auckland with doctors, nurses and medical supplies.

## FRANCE AND BELGIUM

**T**HE Steeg Ministry, in accordance with prediction, was soon overthrown. Its career ended on Jan. 22 after only six weeks, of which three were occupied by the Parliamentary recess. During its short life it reinstated some office employees dismissed after a strike, prepared the new budget and the National Equipment law, and was made the butt of virulent attacks by the conservative press.

As is often the case in French politics, a secondary issue of little importance was exploited by the Opposition to upset the Cabinet. The overzealous concern of Victor Boret, the Minister of Agriculture, for the wheat growers had led him to announce his intention of pegging wheat at 175 francs a quintal (equivalent to \$1.93 a bushel). This imprudent announcement not only aroused the virulent opposition of Leon Meyer, Under-Secretary of Commerce, who is deeply concerned about the cost of living, but it also caused a rise on the wheat market to the disadvantage of the consumers without doing any good to the farmers. It set in opposition the representatives of rural and urban districts in the Chamber. Finally, it created a serious division in the Cabinet with threats of resignation. M. Steeg, however, patched up the quarrel with a compromise and tried to face the Opposition with a united Cabinet.

The interpellation of M. Buyat, a member of the Franklin-Bouillon party, was answered plausibly by M. Boret, who minimized the alleged effects of his action. But the Cabinet was doomed when, toward the end of the debate, M. Flandin, former Minister of Commerce under M. Tardieu, launched a vicious attack against the

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whole policy of the government, contrasting the methods used by the preceding Cabinet to help the farmers

with this practiced by M. Boret, which, he stated, had benefited only the speculators. This telling blow, coming at a moment of tense party feeling, was enough to upset the Ministry. A vote of confidence was refused by a vote of 293 to 283, the adverse majority of 10 votes being furnished by the Communists, whom M. Steeg had befriended a few days before in allowing the release from jail of two members of their group.

This time the crisis did not last long. M. Doumergue first appealed to M. Briand, then at Geneva. But the Minister of Foreign Affairs, at his age and in his state of health, would not consider accepting the intolerable burden of the Premiership. Senator Pierre Laval, who had failed in December, was then summoned. He started out, as he had done before, to form a Ministry of conciliation with all the colors of the republican rainbow, from Radical-Socialist to the Nationalist Democratic Union. But the Radical-Socialists maintained their previous veto against the Marin party. So M. Laval, insistent on success, built his combination along the lines of the Tardieu Cabinet, including a large proportion of the Tardieu Ministers. M. Tardieu accepted the Ministry of Agriculture; M. Laval himself took the Interior; M. Maginot resumed the War Department and M. Briand remained, as usual, at the Quai d'Orsay.

M. Laval has the advantage over M. Tardieu of never having antagonized the parties of the Left. To this party, indeed, by all his associations, he belongs. Born in Auvergne his political career was begun in one of the populous cities of the outskirts of



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Paris. Entering Parliament in 1914 as an Independent Socialist he soon found himself, like Briand, gravitating toward less rigid and dogmatic political groups. He won rapid recognition by his brilliant oratory and widespread popularity by a genuine gift for making friends in all parties. He was Minister of Public Works in the Painlevé Ministry of 1925, Under-Secretary and then Minister of Justice in 1926 under Briand, and last March became Minister of Labor. He also left the Chamber for the Senate, where he belongs to no group. He is now Prime Minister at 47, probably the youngest of the eighty-five or eighty-six Premiers that the Third Republic has had.

His reception by the Chamber, on Jan. 30, was better than had been anticipated. Three hundred and twelve votes in one ballot, 308 in another, gave him a vote of confidence which was refused by 258 members of the Left. Again the program of the new Ministry had little to do with the vote. The platform that he read before Parliament showed no departure from that of his predecessor; it gave to the Left express assurance of loyalty to the laws of laicization, in spite of the opposition of several members of the

new Cabinet, and expressed the intention of widening the facilities for free secondary education. M. Herriot, for the Radical-Socialists, and M. Forgeot for other Left elements, reiterated nevertheless their refusal to cooperate with a Cabinet including members of the nationalist Marin group.

The Oustric affair has continued to occupy the investigating committee. M. Tardieu, who appeared as a witness before the committee, acknowledged that, in the light of later developments, he had to revise his opinion, expressed in the Chamber, of the activities of the members of his Cabinet implicated in the financial scandal. Although no new names were mentioned, the party press has played up everything in the evidence that shows the relations of high finance and politics. The press has been concerned, however, more with the political capital to be made out of the revelations than with the moral they point.

#### PARLIAMENTARY DISPUTE IN BELGIUM

When the Belgian Parliament reconvened in the middle of January the government was faced with an interpellation by the Liberal deputies, Max and Devèze, on its attitude in the linguistic controversy still raging around the Ghent Flemish university.

A Professor of Philosophy, Hulin de Loo, disregarding the prohibition to teach in the French school in Ghent, offered a course of logic in French, both at the school of civil engineering and at the French School of High Studies. Manifestations were organized against him by Flemish students which were condoned both by the official representatives of the students and by the academic council of the university.

The Minister who suspended Professor Hulin de Loo's course to avoid further disturbances, justified this measure by stating that he could not allow the professors to nullify the will of Parliament which had created the Flemish university. The Premier,



M. Jaspar, took the same stand and the government's attitude was approved by a vote of 84 against 73.

The much discussed Franco-Belgian defensive military alliance and the government's national defense program have continued to share with the linguistic feud the attention of the public. A report of the Foreign Affairs Commission published on Jan. 19 stated that the international status of Belgium was defined in the various agreements concluded since the World War—the treaty of Versailles, the League of Nations' and the Locarno agreement. They assure Belgium her traditional rights under the guarantee of Great Britain, France, and even Italy. As for the military agreement of September, 1920, the report read, it does not constitute an alliance, being merely a military accord worked out by the general staffs of the two

countries to cover technical arrangements in case of an unprovoked attack by Germany.

The committee of military and financial experts, appointed to report on the Belgian defensive program to the Financial Committee of the Chamber, have reduced the estimates of fortifications from 2,000,000,000 to 1,300,000,000 francs.

Emile Vandervelde, the Socialist leader and former Minister of Foreign Affairs, who recently began the campaign for the abolition of the Franco-Belgian military agreement, attacked also the government's national defense program, stating in the newspaper, *Le Peuple*, that Belgium's expenditure for war purposes is twelve times that before 1914 and claiming that his country is the only country in Europe to increase its armament since the world conflict.

## THE TEUTONIC COUNTRIES

**F**IGURES of German foreign trade for the year 1930 now available show that for the first time since

the war the excess of German exports over imports was about sufficient to meet her annual reparation payments. Up to last year reparation payments had been virtually paid out of the proceeds of Germany's borrowings abroad. This practice was bound sooner or later to make trouble as the interest on these borrowed sums was added to the reparation payments. It has been universally admitted that the only substantial way in which Germany could pay both her foreign interest charges and her reparation obligations was by building up an excess of exports over imports and by the increase of so-called "invisible items" in the trade balance—tourist expenditures, shipping revenues, insurance, foreign banking and income from foreign investments. It has, therefore, been very gratifying

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to the Germans themselves, and to foreigners holding German bonds and other securities, to note that in

1930 Germany had a favorable trade balance, that is, an excess of exports over imports of 1,642,000,000 marks (a little more than \$400,000,000). This excess almost covers the annual payments under the Young plan.

The conditions of German foreign trade during 1930 somewhat resembled those of 1926, when stagnant home trade and high unemployment greatly reduced imports. The foreign trade in merchandise, not including reparation deliveries in kind, may be seen in the following table, the figures being in millions of marks:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
1930 .....	12,035	10,393	+1,642
1929 .....	13,483	13,446	+ 37
1928 .....	12,275	14,001	-1,726
1927 .....	10,219	14,143	-3,924
1926 .....	9,818	10,565	- 647
1925 .....	8,798	12,441	-3,643

On closer scrutiny, however, this



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1930 trade balance was not quite such an achievement as it seems, nor is there any guarantee that it will continue for another year. The past year was exceptionally rich in tourist expenditures, being the year of the decennial Oberammergau play and of the completion of the steamships Bremen and Europa. The excess of exports over imports does not represent a great increase in shipments abroad, but a less severe decrease in these shipments than was experienced by imports. While imports shrank 25 per cent in value as against the 1929 total, the reduction in volume amounted to only 10 per cent. In other words, the world fall of raw-product prices played a big rôle. Conversely, the loss of value of 1930 exports, compared with 1929, amounted to 11 per cent, while the shrinkage of volume was 5 per cent. Clearly, the world price changes worked favorably for Germany, which is primarily an importer of raw and half-finished products and an exporter of finished goods. If, however, world price levels should alter considerably, Germany might well have to return in part to her former system of paying reparations out of the proceeds of moneys borrowed abroad.

The only important German staple export which showed a marked positive increase in 1930 was non-electri-

cal machinery. This increase was partly traceable to increased sales of expensive machinery to Russia, and partly to the growth in exports of such simple machines as lathes, band saws and planing machines, a field in which Germany seems to compete successfully owing to lower production costs.

The outstanding characteristic of German exports remains, as it has been for half a century, huge amounts of moderately-priced and cheap manufactured goods, sold all over the globe, but particularly in less-developed lands like the Far East. This trade is so widely spread that bad conditions in any one area do not affect seriously the total trade, and the reduced buying power reported in all corners of the world last year worked to Germany's advantage because of her preponderance of low-priced wares.

Doubt as to Germany's ability to continue last year's performance of paying reparations and interest on foreign borrowings by means of an excess of exports over imports and by "invisible items" has brought an increased discussion of the question of a revision of reparation and inter-allied debts. Chancellor Bruening has said emphatically that he does not intend at present to ask for a moratorium. He has admonished the German people to forget reparations for a while and now concentrate on putting both public and private finances in order. "It is not only through reparation burdens that we have fallen into financial misfortunes," he said at Cologne on Jan. 25, "but to a very large extent through letting ourselves imagine that, despite a lost war, despite huge sacrifices of blood and treasure, both State and individual could live better than in pre-war times. We have indulged in building projects everywhere—in the Reich, in States and in communities—which we could not afford before the war. We have spent hundreds of millions of marks for things that later turned out

impractical or unproductive." Germany must first set her domestic finances in order by rigid economy. To stir up the reparation question at present "would be the silliest move Germany could make."

Chancellor Bruening was undoubtedly right and he was doubly shrewd. He was shrewd in waiting until the Young plan might be proved to be economically unworkable. He is also shrewd in letting the agitation for a revision of reparations and inter-allied debts come from outside Germany.

The Reichstag reassembled on Feb. 3 after a long Christmas recess, in which it left matters in the energetic and determined hands of Chancellor Bruening. The opening was more peaceful than might have been expected from the stormy scenes of last Fall. No heavily armed police guarded

the portals of the Reichstag as the Deputies gathered together, and no milling crowds pressed the opening session.

The day before the meeting of the Reichstag its Foreign Relations Committee voted down by 15 to 11 a Hitlerite motion demanding that Germany serve notice of her intention to leave the League of Nations. Hugenberg's Nationalists and the Communists supported this motion of Hitler's "Nazis" after a Communist motion demanding immediate withdrawal, regardless of the obligation to give two years' notice, had been defeated even more decisively. Since the Fascist "Nazis" are stronger proportionally in the committee than they are on the floor of the Reichstag, there is scant danger that the "leave the League" movement will get any further at the present time.

## SPAIN AND ITALY

A ROYAL decree restoring the Spanish Constitution, suspended in 1923, and calling for elections of Deputies and Senators on March 1 and 15, issued on Feb. 8, carried out the promise made by General Berenguer on his accession to power more than a year ago. It signified that the Spanish Monarchy is ready to undertake the battle for its very life by orderly constitutional methods. It meant also the lifting of press censorship and the mobilization of both monarchistic and republican parties in the desperate struggle to gain the support of the Spanish people through the press and propaganda. The opening of Parliament was set for March 25.

The announcement of these elections brought to the fore the question whether the various groups would participate. The monarchists were divided as to lists of candidates, the Socialists and Republicans for some time uncertain as to their policy. One group

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of professional men and intellectuals addressed an appeal for the overthrow of the monarchy to "professors, magistrates, doctors, engineers, architects, judges and especially to the youth of the country."

"The traditional Spanish State," says the manifesto, "has arrived at the final stage of its decomposition. \* \* \* We, therefore, call upon all teachers and others in a position to do so to spread the propaganda of a republic. We need youth because they feel the call of the future. We want to free Spain from provincialism and promote its relations with the rest of the world, as the monarchy has failed to do."

Some of Alfonso's supporters contended that this calling of the Parliament was a wise move on the part of the King, and that when once Parliament met, republican sentiment would die down. Republicans, on the other hand, claimed that the King was trying



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to hide behind the protection of Parliament and that he was playing his last card. The central committee of the Socialist party announced its intention to abstain from voting, a decision later supported by a national convention of the party by a vote of 50 to 4, and various monarchist leaders declared that they would not take part in voting unless honest elections were guaranteed. Leaders of the Constitutionalist party contended that Parliamentary elections under present conditions would be so controlled that they would be no real expression of public opinion. In this connection they sent an open letter to the King demanding as a guarantee that municipal and provincial elections be held before the national ballot, on the ground that fairer supervision of the elections would be secured by new mayors than by those elected under the Berenguer régime. They even went so far as to urge the King instead of summoning a Parliament to call a constituent assembly or a constituent convention and to vacate the throne while the convention decided whether Spain should remain a monarchy or become a republic.

Another step toward normal conditions was taken by the government on Jan. 24 when it proclaimed the end

of martial law except in Madrid and Saragossa, where those arrested for revolutionary action during the last outbreak were awaiting trial. On Feb. 3 martial law was lifted in Saragossa also.

Meantime student riots and strikes continued in Madrid and other Spanish universities, with the result that on Feb. 4 all the universities were ordered closed for one month, by royal decree, until after the elections for Parliament on March 1.

Press censorship made it difficult to know how far the government has gained control of the revolt which reached a climax in December. Three things, however, are hardly open to question: First, that there are great extremes of opinion—for instance, on Jan. 23, the feast of San Ildefonso, monarchists said to number several thousand gathered in front of the royal palace to honor the King, while mounted police and troops kept republican students from staging an anti-monarchist demonstration; second, that there is a great mass of seething discontent, more or less suppressed; and third, that there is intense excitement at the approach of the elections.

Immediately after the revolt, King Alfonso, according to reports, began



to take a more active part in the government, signing all State papers and holding political conferences. A more rigorous censorship on dispatches going out of the country was put into effect and an increase ordered in the pay of army officers, the latter obviously a bid for army support. A further step toward securing the loyalty of the army was taken when the air force, which had taken part in the December revolt, was disbanded for one month. It was further suspended as a separate department of the service and reorganized as a branch of the army. Airmen wishing to continue in the service were obliged to present petitions, which might be refused. On the other hand, officers of other branches of the army might apply for transfer to the aviation service. The immediate effect was the resignation of fifty-nine Spanish aviators.

#### ITALY'S ECONOMIC TROUBLES

Economic difficulties in Italy continued to be evident and to have growing influence on political affairs. Signor Ricardo Gualino, the head of a great artificial silk firm and once reputed to be the richest man in all Italy, was arrested, for "motives of public security," at the instigation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on Jan. 24. Two days later he was sentenced by the Fascist commission of the province of Turin on the general charge of "grave and reiterated damage to the nation's economy" to five years' exile on the penal island of Lipari. This "damage" appeared to have connection with his methods of placing the shares of his artificial silk company abroad and with his alleged relations to several bank failures. Commendatore Panzarasa, another prominent business man and president of important electrical concerns, was also arrested. Whatever may be the motives behind these arrests, they have indicated the government's close relation to high finance and its efforts to control the situation.

As part of the government's at-

tempt to reduce expenses, Premier Mussolini cut \$500,000 from the fund for "political investigation." In spite of the decrease in the budget as a whole, that of the Ministry of Marine called for an increase owing to the resumption of naval construction and for the improvement of naval bases.

Considerable diplomatic stir was caused during January by certain remarks made by Major Gen. Smedley D. Butler of the United States Marine Corps in an address in Philadelphia on Jan. 19. According to newspaper reports, General Butler referred to an automobile trip which an American made through Italy with Premier Mussolini and during which the car ran over and killed a child. General Butler declared that when the accident occurred the Premier, not stopping his car, said: "What is one life in the affairs of a State?" General Butler also accused Mussolini of warlike intentions. The entire speech, coming from a high officer in the active service of the United States, created a most unfortunate impression. The Italian Ambassador in Washington immediately sent an official protest to the United States Department of State. This was referred to the Navy Department, and Secretary Adams demanded an explanation from General Butler. In the meanwhile Premier Mussolini cabled a denial of the story, which was made public here through the Italian Embassy. As a result of General Butler's admission of his statements a formal apology was sent to Premier Mussolini by the United States Government. The apology, signed by Secretary Stimson, expressed "the deep regret" of the government "at the reflections against the Prime Minister of Italy in the unauthorized speech of Major Gen. Smedley D. Butler." The apology was immediately accepted in Italy, and Premier Mussolini cabled: "I consider closed the incident, which for my part I have already forgotten." Secretary Adams announced that General Butler would be court-martialed, but the

trial was subsequently canceled at the request of the Italian Ambassador when General Butler expressed regret for his action. The case was closed with a public reprimand of the General.

Comments on the recent Encyclical of Pope Pius XI, issued in the United States on Jan. 8, while including favorable criticism of its idealistic view of marriage, were generally condemnatory of the Pope's emphatic pronouncement against birth control. In American Protestant circles, particularly, the Encyclical was condemned as bigoted, backward, uncivilized and immoral. In England comment was less severe, and in particular the opinion of those Anglicans whose views had been expressed at the Lambeth conference. Anglican opinion was to the effect that the Pope's ideals were identical with those of the Anglican clergy, which advocated only a limited birth control under certain conditions.

The campaign against the rebel Senussites in the Italian colony of Cyrenaica was marked by the capture on Jan. 24 of the oases of Cufra. This sig-

nificant victory gave the Italian forces control of a centre which was not only a stronghold of Arab chiefs but also an important junction on caravan routes. It was reported that the Italian losses were relatively slight and that many prisoners and large quantities of stores were taken.

During the last month three Italian planes landed at Naples after a flight of some 24,000 miles around the entire continent of Africa. "The flight," says a dispatch from Italy, "had no object of making speed records, but was merely to prove that it is now possible with ordinary civilian airplanes to travel long distances without any special preparations, relying only on maps carried in the planes themselves. This objective may be considered to have been achieved, since the flight, except for a few slight incidents on the return journey, was performed with perfect regularity."

The Fascist party has sold to the United States Government valuable property in the heart of Rome for its embassy and consulate.

## EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

**T**HROUGHOUT December, and until near the end of January, the most disturbing aspect

of the political scene in Central Europe was the ill-feeling between Germany and Poland produced by alleged mistreatment of German minorities in Upper Silesia in connection with the November elections. Shortly after the opening of the year, Chancellor Bruening paid a visit to the Silesian districts which, although officially only an incident of a general tour of the Reich's eastern territories, and declared to have no purpose of provoking Polish sensitiveness or impressing the authorities of the League of Nations, was generally construed to have its two-fold purpose of reminding the

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German minority in Poland that it is not being forgotten by the Fatherland and of letting the people at home

know that the government is keeping an eye on the welfare of those Germans who are doomed to live beyond the frontiers drawn by the Treaty of Versailles. The Berlin Government persisted in its earlier announced intention to lodge a protest with the League; and when the Council assembled at Geneva in mid-January it was generally felt that the problem would be one of the most delicate with which that body had ever been called upon to deal.

Speaking before the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs at Warsaw, Foreign Minister Zaleski declared on



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Jan. 10 that his government would "most decidedly and energetically oppose any attempts to use the national minority problem as a political weapon aimed at Poland's integrity. \* \* \* We have stated our case in a note sent to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. Our reply clearly indicates that we are trying to remove all causes of misunderstanding between the Poles and the minority, and that in spite of all differences we are continuing to work for better relations with our western neighbor."

The Berlin Government, it was understood, had disclaimed any intention to raise the question of boundary revision; and it was believed, as the Council began its labors, that, delicate though the situation was, an amicable adjustment could be reached. In point of fact, the only course which the Council could take, after examining the German complaint and finding it justified, was to recall, in terms which

might be more or less severe, to the government against which the complaint was lodged its obligations and duties under the treaties relative to the protection of minorities which it had signed. In addition, the Council might insist on a principle which has been well established, that the question of the treatment of minorities is one which can be dealt with only between the Council of the League and the government of the State involved, and that it must not serve as an excuse for interference by any State in the internal affairs of another State.

In the Council session, which came to a close on Jan. 24, the problem stirred heated discussion, but was solved with unexpected promptness and ease. An investigating committee presented a report sharply criticizing the Polish authorities in Upper Silesia, but pointing out that Poland herself admitted that the rights of German inhabitants had been infringed and was prosecuting the offenders in the courts; and the Council adopted the report in such a form that, while leaving German circles satisfied, it also appeased Polish sentiment with diplomatic phrases. It is understood that strong pressure was brought to bear on the Polish representatives by Mr. Henderson and M. Briand, who pointed out that if they did not accept the Council's censure gracefully Ukrainian petitions against Poland were likely to put her in a still worse position.

At the end of a stormy all-night session of the Sejm on Jan. 24, Premier Slawek made his long-expected statement on the imprisonment of ex-Deputies at Brest-Litovsk last Summer, declaring that the government's action was justified by a threatened Opposition coup d'état, that there had been no maltreatment of the prisoners and that no reason existed for undertaking a special investigation, as demanded by the Opposition parties. The government majority sustained the statement by a vote of 233 to 150; and since in the Senate a similar re-

sult was reached, the "Brest-Litovsk affair," so far as the government is concerned, appears to be closed.

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S MINORITIES

The results of the country's second census, taken on Dec. 1, 1930, are awaited with great interest, but on account of the difficulties of tabulation are not likely to be available, in any official and exact form, for several more weeks. The statistics about which there is greatest curiosity are those relating to the proportions of various nationalities in the population—the matter, naturally, which gives the census enumerators and tabulators their most delicate and burdensome tasks. Nowhere, perhaps, is the numerical strength of national minorities a thing of larger significance; the figures supplied by the census serve as the basis for the application of several important laws of the country, among them the language law.

At the first census, taken in 1921, the total population was reported as 13,613,172, of which number 65.5 per cent were recorded as Czechoslovaks, 23.3 per cent as Germans, 5.5 per cent as Hungarians, 3.4 per cent as Carpathian Ruthenians, 1.3 per cent as Jews and 0.5 per cent as Poles.

Several weeks before the new census was taken, the German and Magyar press, both in Czechoslovakia and abroad, charged that the enumeration would be so manipulated from Prague that the results would be untrustworthy. The appointment of large numbers of Germans and other non-Czech enumerators indicates, however, a sincere attempt on the part of the government to assure fairness and accuracy.

The railways in Czechoslovakia are owned by the State, and in order to interest employes in operating them more efficiently the Ministry of Railways has devised a profit-sharing plan under which 60 per cent of the profits will go to the

employes and 40 per cent to the State. An experiment with the scheme is to be tried early this year on one of the smaller units, with a view to extending the plan to the entire system if the results are satisfactory.

#### HUNGARIAN TARIFF POLICY

Treaty revision, Habsburg restoration and minority problems have for the moment yielded to tariff policies as the overshadowing factor in Hungary's foreign relations. By allowing her preferential trade treaty with Czechoslovakia to lapse toward the end of 1930, and by imposing, as of Jan. 1, a new and warmly resented tariff on Rumanian wood, the Budapest Government has drifted into economic war with two of the three partners in the Little Entente—an alliance which, of course, is directed politically against her. That economic considerations, which might have been expected to prove exceptionally weighty in a period of depression, can be so completely subordinated to political policies is widely interpreted as indicating the success of Italy in organizing the war-losers of Central Europe against the victors.

Turning to Austria in quest of markets sacrificed elsewhere, Hungary, on Jan. 19, instituted at Vienna a discussion of ways by which most-favored-nation agreements can be prevented from operating to the advantage of France, and particularly the United States. The most-favored-nation principle is under attack throughout Central Europe as an obstacle to any sort of agrarian bloc. But, according to American commercial representatives on the ground, the feature that is regarded as most objectionable is the automatic participation of the United States in whatever trade privileges one Central European State extends to another. The most notable incident of the negotiations to the date of writing was a visit of Premier Bethlen to Vienna near the end of



January, in the course of which he made a speech sharply criticizing the policies and methods of the Little Entente.

#### **RUMANIAN ROYAL FAMILY**

During January, legal advisers drew up for former Queen Helen a statement concerning her legal rights in the country and her relations with her son, Prince Michael, which, it is understood, will be made the basis of her separation from King Carol. The Queen's demands were, chiefly, that she be permitted to occupy her present residence in Bucharest, with freedom to leave or enter Rumania as she chooses; that Prince Michael be permitted to live with her and that she be allowed to choose his companions and tutors and supervise his studies and the care of his health, provided the King approves of the studies; and that the revenue which she receives be paid to her by the government and not by the King, her son's revenue going to the upkeep of their common establishment. She, on her part, agreed to abstain completely from politics.

During recent months an extensive study of the economic and financial condition of Rumania was carried out by H. Parker Willis, Professor of Banking at Columbia University, and on Jan. 10 a digest of his report, prepared for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, was given to the press. The report indicates that while the currency has been stabilized, agrarian reform achieved and substantial economy effected in the effort to maintain a balanced budget, the country labors under a heavy handicap because of lack of capital. No attempt is being made at present to obtain large sums abroad, but considerable effort is being put forth to interest business men in the development of the country's resources. "The economic opportunities of Rumania," concludes Dr. Willis, "are vast, and those who have the vision to recognize

their possibilities and to aid in realizing them will reap a large return."

#### **YUGOSLAV NATIONAL UNITY**

Four bomb outrages, semi-officially ascribed to the Communists, as usual, but actually the work of Croat nationalist extremists, marked the week in which fell the second anniversary, on Jan. 6, of the Yugoslav dictatorship. The significant thing, however, is that the demonstrations were so few and so scattered, betokening the undoubted fact that terrorist activities now have the support of only a small minority of Croats, chiefly in Italy and other foreign lands. Qualified observers agree that during the year and a half since the Triune Kingdom, on Oct. 3, 1929, was replaced by the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, there has been large progress toward true national solidarity; already, the three formerly discordant nationalities—Serbs, Croats and Slovenes—are organizing themselves non-racially into Yugoslav groups according to economic, social and other class interests. To what extent this development springs from rigid political repression under the dictatorship, and how much of a swing-back there would be if that repression were removed, are questions that no one can answer. It seems reasonable to believe, however, that some lasting gains for national unity are being achieved.

#### **BULGARIAN STATE EXPERIMENT**

A Bulgarian law passed in mid-January provides for an interesting experiment in the control of economic activities by the State. The measure created a central directorate for grain export, to operate as a State institution. Through agricultural cooperatives, and also certain banks, private dealers will be able to purchase all kinds of grain until June 30, the end of the experimental period now fixed; and millers are permitted to obtain their grain only from the central directorate, which also is empowered to fix flour prices.

## NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

**T**HE elections held in Finland on Jan. 16 for Presidential electors led to surprising results. The Social Democrats polled 252,679 votes, the Svinhufvud group (Coalition party) 180,209, the Agrarians 167,452, the Stahlberg group (Progressive party) 155,333, the Swede-Finn party 75,066 and the Small Farmers 4,976. The 300 members of the Electoral College will be composed of the following groups, the figures within parentheses indicating the strength of the various parties in the Electoral College of 1925: Socialists 90 (79), Agrarians 69 (69), Svinhufvud's supporters 64 (67), Stahlberg's supporters 52 (33), and Swede-Finns, who are committed to no candidate, the party having followed its earlier precedent of selecting no candidate of its own, 25 (36). In 1925 the Communists, who have been eliminated from the political life of the country, obtained 16 electors.

The element of surprise, according to the unanimous press comments, was the strength shown by ex-President Stahlberg's candidacy. This was interpreted as a direct consequence of the attempt to kidnap him last Fall. To this incident, with the campaign of invective and denunciation waged against him, was attributed the relative weakness of the present Premier, P. E. Svinhufvud, who received the unqualified support of the Lapua movement. But as less than 60 per cent of the voters went to the polls, the country does not seem to be taking the approaching election very seriously.

### PROHIBITION IN FINLAND

"The prohibition situation in Finland is rapidly approaching a crisis

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which will probably lead to thorough revision or abolition of the twelve-year-old prohibition law," according

to a dispatch from Helsinki on Jan. 28. Whether revision or abolition will be the outcome cannot be definitely prophesied, but statistics published in the course of January may serve as some sort of an indication of the present situation. It was reported on Jan. 9 that, according to figures furnished by the Customs Directory, the total confiscations of alcohol during 1930 amounted to 1,052,486 liters. The corresponding figure for 1929 was 955,291 liters. Some 12,000 liters of whisky, wines and liqueurs, etc., fell into the hands of the authorities. Drunkenness statistics for Helsinki, the capital, reported on Jan. 8, showed 22,907 convictions in 1929 and 24,696 for 1930. The same trend was disclosed by the mounting violations of the prohibition law. The total convictions for all offenses was 10,127 in 1928, 12,567 in 1929, and 13,537 in 1930. However, crimes against the State and against the person showed a marked decrease during 1930.

During the current fiscal year the State Alcohol Corporation, founded in 1919 to serve the legal alcohol needs of the country, is to pay only 12 cents per liter (of 100 per cent alcohol) for intoxicants it purchases from the government stores of confiscated strong drink. Hitherto the price has been about 19 cents per liter. On the other hand, the leading temperance organizations on Jan. 20 petitioned the Minister of Finance and the Minister for Social Affairs for more energetic measures to wipe out smuggling. They were assured of the unqualified support of the Svinhufvud Government in the work for making prohibition a



NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

success, although it was pointed out that the present economic depression was an obstacle to increased expenditures for enforcement.

#### PROBLEMS OF THE SWEDISH RIKSDAG

The Swedish Riksdag opened on Jan. 12 in the presence of King Gustaf. The speech from the throne referred to the effect of the economic depression upon State finances as well as private enterprise and pointed out that increased taxation could be avoided only by the utilization of existing reserve funds. The budget submitted to the Legislature totaled 850,681,100 kroner, compared with the 813,367,200-kroner budget for the present fiscal year. (A krona is worth 26.8 cents.) Specific mention was also made of the customs agreement concluded in Oslo two months ago among Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and Belgium, which will be submitted for ratification in the present session. The Riksdag will also be called upon to revise certain parts of existing legal procedure and of criminal law as well.

In a discussion on Jan. 18 the parties of the Right criticized the budget appropriations for military and naval purposes and maintained that insufficient measures had been taken for the raising of agriculture from its present state of depression. The Social Democrats held that the appropriations for the Department of Social Affairs were too small and that the 3,000,000-kroner fund for unemployment relief was altogether inadequate. However, the leaders of both of these parties admitted that their criticism of the government did not mean that they were ready to overturn the Cabinet. Press comments agreed the position of the Ekman Government is considerably weaker than Mr. Ekman's first Cabinet, but that it has a good chance of surviving the present opposition.

At a meeting of the union of textile workers on Jan. 1 to discuss the wage situation within the industry it was decided that, since the employers had failed to agree to the 10 per cent wage increase demanded by the workers, a strike would be declared on Jan. 6. The employers' organization retaliated on Jan. 5 by declaring that a 10 per cent wage reduction would become effective on Jan. 12. The strike began on Jan. 6 as scheduled, involving at the outset some 7,000 organized workers. The government, acting through the Ministry for Social Affairs, attempted to avert the conflict by means of arbitration, but the effort was unsuccessful. The Minister for Social Affairs declared the day before the strike began that the chances for reconciliation were so small as to make it useless to appoint an arbitration commission—a procedure for solving labor conflicts which has been hitherto used on more than one occasion.

Swedish aviation sustained a serious loss in the death of Captain Einar Lundborg, who was killed on Jan. 28 at Malmslätt military flying field when trying out a new pursuit plane.

A soldier of fortune, Captain Lundborg fought under several flags and his military career was adventurous and varied. His greatest achievement, however, was his saving of General Umberto Nobile off the Spitsbergen ice floe when the Italian commander was marooned with some of his men after the disaster to his dirigible. This flight attracted the attention of the entire world, and Lundborg later was invited by the Italian Government to Rome as witness in the special Italia investigation.

#### THE NORWEGIAN BUDGET

The Norwegian budget for the coming fiscal year was presented in the Storting on Jan. 13. It is balanced at 376,500,000 kroner, while the corresponding figure for the current year was 376,000,000 kroner. Although the increase is quite inconsiderable, the drafting of the budget represented a good many difficulties because of the business depression. The taxes—among them the temporary surtax on incomes imposed some time ago—will be retained virtually unchanged. The item for combating unemployment was increased by only 100,000 kroner.

Census reports issued on Jan. 19 showed that the population of Norway on Dec. 31, 1930, was 2,809,000, an increase of 6 per cent since 1920.

#### DANISH UNEMPLOYMENT

The Danish unemployment situation continued without appreciable change. K. K. Steincke, Minister for Social Affairs, announced on Jan. 6 that his department was drafting measures designed to relieve the situation. Some 20,000 unemployed who were receiving no assistance, particularly needed relief. In the Folketing on Jan. 12 it was disclosed that the number of unemployed was approximately 75,600, as compared with 59,000 a year before. The cost of remedying the present situation was estimated at 5,580,000 kroner, to be contributed by the national and local governments and

unemployment funds. The remedial measures were embodied in an emergency law to be passed at once, which would remain in force until May 1, 1931. The seriousness of the present situation was illustrated by a demonstration at Nakskov, a provincial city, on Feb. 2, when 5,000 unemployed workers assembled in the town hall. After the Council heard their grievances, about \$5,500 was voted for immediate relief of the destitute.

#### ESTONIAN ECONOMIC RETRENCHMENT

President Strandman presented on Jan. 7 the Estonian Government's proposed budget to the representatives of the parties that compose the present Coalition Cabinet. While the individual Ministries called for expenditures approximating 85,777,000 crowns, the final proposal represented a reduction of 10,000,000 crowns. This was effected by means of drastic cuts, mostly at the expense of civil servants and other State officers. Pensions were reduced by 20 per cent; contributions to the State pension fund by government employees were increased by 2 per cent; tuition fees in schools were increased and so on. President Strandman stated that if the Legislature rejected the budget the Cabinet would resign.

The replies of the coalition groups, given on Jan. 12, were generally favorable. On Jan. 21, however, the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Kerem, resigned, and a communication made public two days later disclosed that this was due to the failure of the press and Parliamentary group of the People's party, whom Mr. Kerem represented, to support the coalition. Mr. Kerem's resignation did not materially change the strength of the Coalition Ministry, for the People's party holds only 9 seats in the Legislature, while the coalition controls 62, and is furthermore supported by the German and Russian Deputies.



## THE SOVIET UNION

**A**N interesting indication of the progress of the Soviet experiment in social reconstruction is the shift of conservative opinion in other countries regarding the probable outcome of the Five-Year Plan. Until recently there has been a disposition to treat this program with derision as a visionary undertaking doomed to failure, and involving the collapse of the political system based upon it. As the results of the second year have become known, however, this attitude has changed to one of alarm, lest, after all, the Five-Year Plan should succeed. The capitalist countries find themselves confronted by an enormous industrial system which they have helped to create through their supplies of capital, equipment and technical skill, and which is now employing its productive power to swamp the world's markets with cheap goods. This view of the situation is well expressed in an editorial in the *London Times* on Jan. 29. The *Times*, one the most consistent opponents of the Soviet régime, now takes the position that the Five-Year Program is very likely to succeed, and that its success will bestow on Russia such vast competing power as will preclude the survival of capitalist institutions anywhere. Only by a complete reorganization of their economic systems, it is predicted, can other countries hope to compete on equal terms in the world market with an industrialized Communist State. The lines to be followed in this inevitable reorganization are sketched: autocratic centralized control to supplant individual enterprise as the guiding force in economic life; discipline, forced labor and a lowered standard of life to take the place of free contract in the labor market.

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If these were the views of a single newspaper they would have little significance. But when, as is the case, they represent the considered opinion of thoughtful people in many countries they become a factor which cannot be disregarded. For one thing, this attitude implies a favorable appraisal of the chances of success of the Soviet experiment which one must take into account in forming his own judgment of the progress of the Five-Year Plan. Moreover, the attitude becomes a factor in the policy of other nations toward the Soviet Union which cannot fail to exert a powerful influence upon the current of international affairs. The *London Times* derived from its analysis of the case the precept that capitalist countries must, in self-defense, refuse to have economic dealings with Russia. The policy of France and her allies in Central Europe is colored by a similar point of view. In the United States the proposal for the exclusion of Russian goods contained in the Kendall bill, though prompted by special economic interests, draws support from the general distrust of Russia's purposes when she has grown strong. Germany and Italy, on the other hand, have shown their willingness to be drawn into the orbit of the Soviet Union by reason of a common opposition to the Versailles treaty. In fact, the success of Russian diplomacy in concluding friendly agreements during the past year with these two States, and with Turkey, whose reconciliation with Italy was a triumph of Soviet strategy, has driven a wedge into the bloc of capitalist States.

With regard to the chances of a successful completion of the Five-Year Plan the statistical evidence, as it accumulates, appears most favorable.

This evidence, taken from the latest official statements, is epitomized for a number of selected industries in the following tabulation:

rest upon the popular will. Even then, it remains to be proved with what degree of success the Russian people can operate an imported industrial

Product	FIVE-YEAR PLAN		ACTUAL PRODUCTION	
	Second Year, 1929-30	Two Years, 1928-30	Second Year, 1929-30	Two Years, 1928-30
Oil (mil. tons).....	14.8	28	17.1	30.2
Coal (mil. tons).....	46.6	87.7	46.9	86.6
Iron ore (mil. tons).....	10.2	17.3	10.2	17.4
Manganese (mil. tons).....	.66	1.18	.61	1.18
Pig iron (mil. tons).....	5	9.1	5	9
Steel ingots (mil. tons).....	5.2	9.9	5.6	10.3
Rolled steel (mil. tons).....	4	7.6	4.5	8.3
Agricultural machinery (mil. rubles).....	262	472	312	514
Tractors (units).....	5,000	8,000	9,300	12,600
Electrical machinery (mil. rubles).....	330	588	495	786
Cement (thous. tons).....	3,023	5,193	2,991	5,251
Cotton cloth (mil. meters).....	3,266	6,236	2,416	5,252
Woolen cloth (mil. meters).....	124	229	131.9	312.9
Linen cloth (mil. meters).....	217	379	216.1	405.8
Shoes (mil. pairs).....	50	92	62.9	101.8
Rubber footwear (mil. pairs).....	46	87.5	42.8	84.9
Matches (mil. cases).....	7.9	14.7	9.2	16.1
Total increase over preceding year.	21.5%		24.2%	

The rate of industrialization for the country as a whole, compared with the situation in Czarist Russia, is presented by the Soviet authorities as follows:

Year	Per Cent	Year	Per Cent
1913 .....	100	1925-26.....	89.2
1920 .....	12.6	1926-27.....	104.5
1921-22.....	21.8	1927-28.....	131.1
1922-23.....	30.0	1928-29.....	162.5
1923-24.....	39.6	1929-30.....	201.9
1924-25.....	62.5		

There are, of course, many doubtful factors concealed in these figures. The first table omits such branches of industry as the transportation system, whose record is far from satisfactory. Moreover, statistics of production do not take into account certain aspects of the problem which are of cardinal importance to the future of the Soviet experiment. The achievements recorded in these figures represent incalculable sacrifice on the part of the Russian people. Ruthless dictatorship, aided by a war psychology, has succeeded thus far in producing the required popular response. But the problem of social control will become more grave as the strain is prolonged; and there can be no final decision as to the character and purposes of Russia's social system until it comes to

system. The successes of the present are partly attributable to the skill of alien technicians. There are 4,000 of these foreign specialists employed directly by the Soviet Union, and some 2,000 more employed by the 124 foreign companies having technical aid contracts with the government. A news dispatch of Jan. 25 states the intention of the government to import an additional 13,000 technicians during 1931 to insure the success of this year's program. In the meantime, the technical schools of the country are operating under pressure to develop native talent for these pivotal positions. Until these basic problems are solved statistics of construction and production are an unreliable index to Russia's future.

The point of friction in Russia's international affairs at present is to be found in her foreign trade. It is her exports of basic commodities that are troubling the Western World. After much conjecture there are now authentic statements of the quantity of Russian grain which was thrown on the world market during the past season. Up to the beginning of January 3,500,000 metric tons of all grains had been sold abroad by the Soviet

Government, 2,250,000 tons being wheat. An abundant harvest has enabled the Soviet authorities to gather together the largest grain surplus since the revolution, some 19,000,000 metric tons, or 6,000,000 tons more than is needed by the urban population and the army. There is talk now of increasing the food ration in the cities. If this is not done Russia is in a position to export a volume of grain at least equal to that which she sold during the Fall months, with similarly depressing effect upon world prices. These quantities are small in comparison with the total world trade, but exert a disproportionately disturbing influence because of the worldwide agrarian depression. Aside from grains, there is a considerable export of other agricultural commodities, such as dairy products, bacon, eggs and poultry, but the principal items are oil, timber products and ores. Only in Central Europe are Soviet manufactures a significant item in the trade statement.

An analysis of Soviet foreign trade as a whole during the fiscal year 1929-30 shows an increase of 21 per cent over the preceding year. The total turnover was slightly in excess of \$1,000,000,000, with the imports exceeding exports by some \$60,000,000. In the prevailing reaction against the sale of Russian goods in foreign markets one is inclined to overlook the fact that the Soviet Union is buying more than she sells. This is especially true of her trade with the United States, which for the fiscal year 1929-30 consisted of \$22,000,000 of Russian exports and \$140,000,000 of Russian purchases. The United States now ranks first among the nations as an exporter to the Soviet Union and only seventh as an importer. The quantity of Soviet goods sold here is not only trifling in comparison with our exports to Russia but consists in large part of commodities which we cannot supply in adequate amounts from our own re-

sources. The demand for an embargo on Soviet imports incorporated in the Kendall bill now before Congress acquires small support from these facts regarding the trade situation. The Soviet Union exports to Great Britain nearly six times the amount of goods she sells here and has an export surplus of almost \$40,000,000 in her trade with that country; yet the British Government, despite its vigorous opposition to the principles of communism, promotes this trade by standing ready to guarantee credits extended to Soviet purchasing agencies up to 75 per cent of the amount involved. By a similar arrangement Germany undertakes to guarantee Soviet credit to the extent of 60 per cent of each transaction and to an aggregate of \$150,000,000. The Italian Government has underwritten 75 per cent of the credit involved in Soviet purchases. Austria and Norway have made similar provisions. Credits arising under these agreements run in some instances as long as four years. The contrast between the policy of these countries and that proposed by the Kendall bill is striking enough to give concern to all those interested in the expansion of the Russian market for American goods.

The political situation within the Soviet Union has been calm since the violent shake-up within the Communist party in December. Stalin's ruthless suppression of his opponents of the Right appears to have won the approval of the party's rank and file. This is certainly true of the Communist Youth party, as disclosed by the almost hysterical ovation which Stalin received from the 10,000 representatives of its 3,000,000 members who attended the ninth congress of the party on Jan. 17. There has been no similar opportunity for the regular party to express its approval, but Stalin's confidence in the support of the party membership is shown in the announcement of the "control figures" which set the specifications of the

five-year program for 1931. These figures have all been advanced beyond the original estimates, providing in certain categories for the completion of the five-year objectives in the present third year and for the liquidation of the entire plan by the end of the fourth year. Such an increase of rate of progress, involving as it does severe burdens on the people, argues the stability of the present political régime.

At the end of January elections were in progress over the entire Soviet Union. The electoral system provides for a wide popular franchise, admitting to the polls all persons over 18 years of age except those who fall within the proscribed classes—criminals, lunatics, priests, private employers of labor, those suspected of counter-revolutionary activity. Only the officials of the smallest governmental unit—the local Soviet—are

chosen by direct popular vote. The higher units, up through the central organs of the State are filled by a system of indirect election. Hence this popular vote is the only opportunity under Soviet procedure for sounding the political consciousness of the Russian masses. In order to prove to the world that the dictatorship is preparing the people for self-government, the Communists are making strenuous efforts this year to stimulate a large vote. There is a marked contrast between this election and the last in the attitude of the local commissars toward religion. At the last election it was a general practice to exclude the supporters of the churches from the polls and to vilify them as enemies of the State. This year orders have gone forth that these groups are to be unmolested in the exercise of their voting rights.

## THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

**A**T Ankara on Jan. 1 Prime Minister Ismet Pasha stated the attitude of the government toward the revolt at Menemen. This

local outbreak had behind it a powerful organization, which was attempting to use religion as a means of creating hostility to the government. The government's policy of the separation of religion from the State had been misinterpreted as government hostility to religion in any form. This the Prime Minister denied. "The ideal of the government," he said, "has been and is individual freedom of thought regarding religion and complete absence of coercion at the hands of a few regarding politics."

Further details of the inception of the outbreak showed that the dervish Mehemet, with five followers, came to the village of Menemen on Dec. 23. There Mehemet delivered a fiery oration exalting Mohammed and chal-

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lenging the government. When a young reserve officer began to argue with the dervish he was killed. Soldiers came, killed four of the dervishes and arrested the other two. The population of the village showed sympathy with the rebels and many of them were arrested and imprisoned.

Trials by court-martial began at Menemen on Jan. 15, while arrests were made elsewhere in Turkey. At the end of the month twenty-seven of those tried were acquitted and seventy-eight were sentenced to imprisonment or death. Twenty-eight men were hanged at Menemen on Feb. 3. The court-martial continued to function and the country as a whole remained quiet, with no sign of general revolt.

President Mustapha Kemal continued his tour of investigation and observation in spite of the Menemen revolt. After eight weeks in Anatolia





THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

and Thrace he returned to Ankara and then proceeded to Smyrna, planning afterward to visit the southern regions. Everywhere he sought contact with individuals from all groups of the population. He also visited schools and questioned students about Turkish history. Though he avoided expressing any general deductions from his observations, he delivered a speech at Smyrna on Jan. 29 before a congress of the People's party. In this speech he denied that his party was averse to receiving intelligent criticism, but declared clearly that any reactionary attempts to subvert law and order would be repressed ruthlessly. The substance of his speech was concerned with economic problems.

The government has given attention to the manufacture and export of opium. The country is well adapted to the growth of the poppy, and in the present unfortunate economic situation it appears undesirable to reduce the production of opium. On the other hand, the government has tried to prevent illegal manufacture and export of the drug. Three large factories in Istanbul, managed by foreigners, are being supervised by the government, but evidently a large portion of their products has been smuggled out con-

trary to regulations of the present Turkish Government.

#### QUIET IN EGYPT

Political quiet has been maintained in Egypt under the rule of Premier Sidky. The British Government has carefully abstained from interference. Freedom of the press and of speech do not exist, but the opposition has hitherto been unable either by legal or illegal means to shake the position of the government. The Wafd and the Liberal Constitutional parties have declared their intention of boycotting the Spring elections, on the ground that although 90 per cent of the voters are in sympathy with them, the Constitution has been so mishandled and the electoral law so modified, that a fair election is impossible and that the government will by unfair manipulation maintain itself in power. Sidky has proceeded to organize his new party, meantime avoiding the re-opening of treaty negotiations with the British Government.

Meanwhile, government officials have shown continued interest in economic problems. Announcement was made at the end of January that the government would sell gradually its 300,000,000 pounds of cotton, continuing the process over six years. The

government agreed with the Egyptian Sugar Refining Company upon a monopolistic control of sugar production for fourteen years. Egyptian sugar alone is to be used, unless in an emergency the government permits importation of a limited amount of raw sugar. The company may also export sugar in case of excess. Prices will be fixed by the government after consulting an advisory council, and the government will control all accounts carefully. The import duty on sugar was increased from \$25 to \$35 per ton.

#### AGITATION IN PALESTINE

In the elections of the Jewish National Assembly on Jan. 5 the Labor party obtained 32 seats, the Revisionists 14, the Oriental Jews 15 and the United Women 2. In spite of active campaigning only about 40 per cent of the voters participated. The bitter feelings aroused permitted Arab critics to emphasize the division of purpose among the Palestinian Jews. The Jewish Labor party favors the interests of Jewish working people and is opposed to the widespread employment of Arab labor. The Revisionists desire to continue all possible efforts toward a Jewish majority and an ultimate Jewish State in Palestine.

On Jan. 11 the Arab Executive published a reply to the British White Paper. In the accompanying letter

demands of various Arab congresses were summarized, including the abrogation of the Balfour Declaration, the establishment of a government responsible to an elected representative assembly, the prohibition of the sale of land by Arabs to non-Arabs and the cessation of Jewish immigration into Palestine. The contrast of the considerable degree of self-government allowed the Arabs by the Turks after 1908 with the present unrepresented condition was emphasized.

#### OIL SETTLEMENT IN IRAQ

The proposed pipe lines from Iraq to the Mediterranean for transporting the Iraq oil reserves to the seaports have continued to cause controversy. On Feb. 5 it was announced that the dispute which had arisen between France and Great Britain had reached a settlement based on a convention whereby the pipe line should fork, one branch to be run through British-controlled Palestine and the other through French-controlled Lebanon. The French agreed to this solution of the difficulty only on condition that they might begin immediately to build the line. But Sir John Cadman, president of the Iraq Petroleum Company, objected to this on the ground that it would be unwise to release more oil at present in the face of world overproduction.

## THE FAR EAST

**W**HO rules Manchuria? This question became pertinent in the midst of rejoicings in the councils of the National Government of China over the accommodating spirit of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang. Dispatches in the middle of January ascribed to him the intention of making Peiping (Peking) his permanent headquarters, and a de-

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cision not to return to Mukden. Recent apprehension in Japanese newspapers, based upon rumors of a Nanking-

Mukden understanding, which would be prejudicial to Japan's position, especially in the four northeastern provinces, also were made to appear unfounded by the news of Chang's sudden change of base.

The death of Chang Tso-lin in 1928,



THE FAR EAST

at the hands of assassins whose identity never has been made public, was followed by the accession of his son, Chang Hsueh-liang, to power at Mukden. Two of his father's closest friends, Generals Yang Yu-ting and Chang Tso-hsiang, were believed to be rivals for the place assumed by the younger man. The former was assassinated in young Chang's official residence, upon orders and practically in the presence of the Marshal; the latter is Governor of Kirin, one of the Manchurian provinces. It is still impossible to say whether the two Manchurian Changs have, in fact, divided the territory, and whether, if a division has been made, it was accomplished by agreement or by force. Nor is evidence yet at hand as to the consequences of such a division upon the rapprochement recently arrived at between Nanking and Mukden.

Chang Hsueh-liang was reported as in control of Hopei (Chihli), Suiyuan,

Chahar and Shansi Provinces, with General Shang Chen acting for him in Shansi instead of Yen Hsi-shan, who was recuperating in Dairen after his brief season of power at Peiping. An army of 150,000 supported him, while 200,000 men remained under arms in Manchuria.

Movements of Soviet troops toward the western boundary of Manchuria were reported from Tokyo. They were interpreted as designed to support Moscow's diplomatic efforts to reach an agreement for implementing the Khabarovsk protocol of 1929. Mo Teh-hui returned from Russia to China after several months of negotiating, while subcommittees in Moscow went on with consideration of details. Reports were current that Mo would be replaced by Wellington Koo, one of China's ablest diplomats, who has so far remained outside the Nationalist fold. Conditions along the Chinese Eastern Railway, the spinal column of

the old Russian sphere of interest in North Manchuria, were understood to be more favorable for the Soviets.

President Chiang Kai-shek postponed until April the end of the "bandit-suppression" campaign in Central and South China. Early in January one of his expeditions was surrounded in Kiangsi while its commander was tortured to death, since the government did not raise his ransom of \$2,000,000 (Mexican). Ten divisions of troops were believed to be needed to quell the opposition in that sector alone. The peasantry was favoring the rebels. Several important cities were in their hands in Kiangsi, among them Ningtu, Hsinkuo and Taiho. The government's anti-Communist drive in Kiangsi province received a set-back on Feb. 3 when a new rebellion led by Pai Ch'ung-hsi resulted in the capture of Nanning, the capital of the province. In Yunnan, Governor Yun Lung, Nanking's appointee, was compelled to permit the armies of Chang Fakwei and Li Ming-ju, Kwangsi recalcitrants, to pass through his province into Szechwan on the way to attack the government's supporters in Shensi. General Huang Shao-hsiung of Kwangsi was persuaded to confer with the government about the Kwangsi governorship, in which, it was believed, he would be competent to pacify that province.

From Hupeh the news was more favorable, though the Han River region remained in the hands of the opposition. The situation in Honan likewise was improved. Firing on shipping along the Min River in Fukien and on the Yangtse, near Kenli, Hupeh, was heavy. In Kansu a punitive campaign was opened against the Mohammedans, who were accused of having murdered 30,000 people, kidnapped as many women and devastated the province within the last nine months. Except for one strategic area, the entire province of Szechwan, China's Texas in point of size, was outside Nanking's control. The exact whereabouts of General Feng Yu-

hsiang was unknown, but he was believed to be in Shansi and in active negotiation with Moscow.

#### THE JAPANESE DIET

Baron Shidehara, Foreign Minister, and Acting Premier of Japan during the convalescence of Premier Hamaguchi, addressed both houses of the Diet upon their reopening on Jan. 22. As Foreign Minister, he declared that the London naval treaty had not only put an end to the possibility of competition among the three great naval powers, but had inspired a sense of mutual trust and helpfulness between participating powers in all phases of their relations. He praised the National Government of China, pointing specifically to reform efforts, reminding his hearers of similar policies in the history of Japan's rise to unification and pledging his country's goodwill and cooperation in China's behalf. He indicated a willingness to discuss the readjustment of Sino-Japanese relations upon a basis of mutual concession where concessions would not endanger national existence. Regarding Manchuria, he said: "It is needless for me to repeat that we have no intention of seeking anything like unfair and selfish terms of settlement in disregard of China's legitimate position. Nor can it be believed that China on her part harbors a design to reduce the South Manchurian Railway to ruin."

The Foreign Minister concluded his statement with a reference to the American immigration act, saying: "On the question of the United States immigration law, which for the past seven years has been weighing heavily on popular sentiment in this country, there is no longer any doubt that our position is now fully understood and appreciated by the large majority of the American people. We shall watch further development of the question with unimpassioned but keen interest."



## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

## Poverty and the State

*Continued from Page XV*

The cost of this insurance, according to Mr. Slater, should be borne by the country or industry as a whole in proportion to the ratepayer's ability to pay. Second, the mobility of labor to places and occupations where there is relatively more work is diminished. Unemployed urban workers are better off than employed agricultural laborers. Third, the present scheme is actuarially unsound; it yields revenues sufficient to support only one-third of the unemployed and for ten years the balance has been secured through State subsidies and loans.

What can be done to improve the present situation? Obviously the unemployment insurance scheme must be revised. More important, fundamental changes must be made in the economic structure of Great Britain. Industrial rationalization is necessary. Rationalization of the cotton and coal industries will increase the unemployed; rationalization of agriculture will provide places for a million unemployed. Rationalization of the fishing industry will provide many with jobs. Improvement in these two industries will contribute somewhat to the prosperity of others.

On the whole Mr. Slater's book leaves the reader with two general impressions. One, that something can and must be done. Secondly, that the future for Great Britain is not, as certain prejudiced Americans have declared, dismal. Realizable alterations in British economic life and a more equitable distribution of income will greatly accelerate those improvements in the life of the masses which have been made in spite of a decade of economic depression.

## Northcliffe's Record in British Journalism

**NORTHCLIFFE:** An Intimate Biography. By Hamilton Fyfe. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930. \$4. Pp. ix and 357.

**A**LFRED HARMSWORTH, who became better known as Lord Northcliffe, is a notable figure in the history of British journalism. Discovering how to produce newspapers for the masses, he made a fortune and created a powerful instrument with which to excite popular feeling. He was able to do this, as Mr. Fyfe shows, because he combined energy, alertness and determination with mental qualities that never transcended those

of the populace for which he catered. It was his good fortune that the time was ripe for his publishing ventures. Five years after he was born the education act of 1870 provided elementary schooling for millions of children, and by 1885, when young Harmsworth began to see the possibilities of popularizing journalism, a new public was ready to welcome a type of reading matter at which the better-educated minority turned up their noses.

With a few thousand dollars, Harmsworth launched his first enterprise, *Answers*, a brightly written but scrappily informative little weekly magazine which has no exact counterpart in America. By novel and audacious methods of publicity he made a success of the paper, and then founded others appealing to the same literate but uncultivated class of readers. With his brother, Harold (now Lord Rothermere), as manager of his financial affairs, he was now prosperous and ready for his plunge into daily journalism, of which so far he knew little. At this point Kennedy Jones, an uncouth young reporter with ideas of his own for the vulgarization of the newspaper, induced him to join in the purchase of the then moribund London *Evening News*. The result was highly successful and led to the establishment, in 1896, of a morning paper, the *Daily Mail*, with which Northcliffe's name is chiefly associated. There was also his other great success, the *Daily Mirror*, which gave the "news in views" and made the tabloid size familiar in the British Isles. In 1908 Northcliffe crowned his journalistic career by becoming the chief proprietor of the London *Times*, which, however, has passed back to the control of the Walters in partnership with the Astor family in England.

During the war Northcliffe made his mark as a propagandist in the unofficial service of the Allies and as a critic of governmental inefficiency. His greatest feat was to drive Asquith from office and so enable Lloyd George to become Prime Minister. Only once did Northcliffe accept an official position, that of head of the British War Mission to America. Ambitious of being himself Prime Minister, he refused all other positions in the Cabinet that were offered to him. With the end of the war he was physically and mentally a spent force. Increasing ill health, which affected his mind, led to his death in 1922.

Even if we do not insist on applying the highest standards of civilized living, no one can say that Northcliffe's record is deserving of respect or admiration. For that reason the affection engendered by the biographer's long association with his subject has made Mr. Fyfe's task one of unusual difficulty. But it has been carried out with great skill and tact, and the result is a singularly just and accurate picture. On its own merits, the book has

real value as a piece of literary craftsmanship, apart from its usefulness as a contribution to the history of modern England.—S. B.

## A Decade of Prohibition

By D. E. WOLF

*THE DRY DECADE.* By Charles Merz. New York: Doubleday Doran. 1931. \$3.

**P**ROHIBITION is as familiar and homely a subject to the average American as the nose on his face, and he sees it just as plainly. This thought is induced by the fact that, while Mr. Merz's history of prohibition contains little that a diligent newspaper reader of the past fifteen years might not know it is nevertheless fresh, new and intensely interesting. This book is neither a wet nor a dry argument. It probably will not make a single convert either way. But it will enable the reader to do some furious thinking, if he wishes, on the subject of our government and its workings.

The real value of Mr. Merz's book lies not in any proof of the goodness or badness of prohibition, but in the rather terrifying revelation that neither during the passage of the law nor during the first ten years of its working did the government approach the experiment with any degree of wisdom or realism. Nor was there, at the start, an enlightened public opinion or any true realization of what national prohibition meant, even among the crusaders who had made it their life-work.

The Eighteenth Amendment, as we know it, was passed by the Senate on Aug. 1, 1917, by a vote of 65 to 20, after thirteen hours of debate over a period of three days. On Dec. 17 the House debated and passed the amendment at a single session, lasting from 11 A. M. to 6 P. M. The vote was 282 to 128. Three weeks later the Mississippi Legislature ratified the amendment by 122 to 8. "During the same month," Mr. Merz reminds us, "Virginia, Kentucky, South Carolina and North Dakota added their vote to Mississippi's. Eight more States took the action before the end of Spring. Two States voted favorably in the Fall [of 1918]; and twenty States added their approval suddenly in the first fifteen days of January, 1919." On Jan. 16 Nebraska's vote made the Eighteenth Amendment part of the Constitution.

It is an appalling thought that a radical social reform which sought to revolutionize the habits of 100,000,000 people could have been enacted in so casual and unimaginative a fashion. Mr. Merz shows that the people as a whole did not realize even faintly what such an experiment meant. The dries sincerely believed that now "liquor was effectively banished from the United States," and the late

Wayne B. Wheeler confidently estimated that \$5,000,000 a year would easily take care of enforcement. It makes one tremble to think that even at this moment Congress may be legislating us into problems as vast as prohibition after only thirteen hours of debate or at a single day's sitting.

Mr. Merz points out, quite rightly, that the war was partly responsible for blinding the people to the significance of the prohibition experiment, for the war identified patriotism with the cause of prohibition. The brewers, who had been fighting prohibition by wholly indefensible methods and at the same time refusing to reform the abuses of the saloon, were also identified with the pro-German element. At the same time it was correctly argued that prohibition would release man power and a vast supply of grain to win the war.

The most powerful force behind prohibition was the fact that the prohibitionists had for many years been militantly and effectively organized under the Anti-Saloon League, supported by the Churches, while the only organized opponents of prohibition were the discredited brewers. On the other hand, Mr. Merz denies the popular wet "dogma" that prohibition was foisted on an unsuspecting country by the dry organizations, recalling "that a majority of the House of Representatives had voted in favor of a constitutional amendment as early as December, 1914. To the most cocksure wet this should have been ample notice of the possibility that lay ahead." By organizing a bloc of 146 votes in the House, the opponents of prohibition could have defeated the amendment. Although they had three years to attempt this, the wets neglected every opportunity and laughed at the threat of prohibition.

The story of the "dry" decade is the story of widespread violation of the law and the deliberate disregard by Congress of the problem of enforcement. During the first six months of prohibition this problem, of which neither Congress nor even the Anti-Saloon League had had the faintest premonition, cropped up in all its virulent phases. These were then, and remain to this day, the illicit still, border smuggling, corruption of Federal prohibition agents, diversion of industrial alcohol and congestion in the courts. For the past ten years Congress has nimbly sidestepped the challenge of these abuses by passing more laws to be enforced and failing to provide machinery and funds to enforce them. It was a safe and pleasant method which did not entail increased taxes. Mr. Merz describes the strategy of the average Congressman thus: "By making what Mr. Wheeler described as

*Continued on Page XX*



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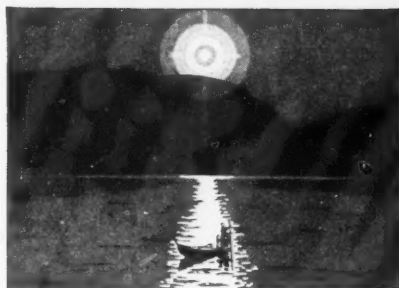
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# SWEDEN

'dry pronouncements' he could win the valuable support of the Anti-Saloon League and its allies. By keeping the cost of enforcement so low that it would neither add unwelcome taxes nor shut off the sources of illicit liquor he could hope to stave off an organized political revolt on the part of the opponents of the law." Thus, while illicit stills increased and diversion of industrial alcohol became organized on a large scale, a predominantly "dry" Congress argued over laws to deport alien violators, limit doctors' prescriptions, investigate consignments of liquor to foreign diplomats and "dry up" the Philippines. In 1929 James M. Doran, Commissioner of Prohibition, testified that it would take \$300,000,000 a year to enforce the law in every section of the country. Congress replied by raising the appropriation for that year to \$12,401,620.

In the nine years, during which appropriations varied from \$2,000,000 to \$12,000,000, a series of honest and zealous directors took charge of the Prohibition Bureau with high hopes, only to confess failure and resign. In addition to lack of men and funds, they had to grapple with corruption in the ranks. By Feb. 1, 1926, 875 prohibition agents had been dismissed on this score. It was not until 1927 that the Prohibition Bureau was brought under civil service regulations.

The political history of prohibition is an endless and discouraging tale. Mr. Merz tells it with a clearness and conciseness that is admirable. He presents side by side the arguments of the pros and antis, though he seems to present the case for the wets with a trifle more eloquence. Prohibition as a social experiment, its effects on industry, health, wealth and crime, is outside the province of this book. Mr. Merz believes that it is too soon to reach accurate conclusions. Perhaps our grandchildren will be able to form some opinion of what these ten years added to the general sum of goodness and happiness.

## Russia's Economic Life

By NATHAN MILLER

*THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF SOVIET RUSSIA.* By Calvin B. Hoover. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931. \$3.

THE majority of the reputable economics textbooks in general use today invariably begin their discussions with a consideration of that momentous series of technical changes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, collectively called the Industrial Revolution, and trace the profound changes it wrought ultimately in the social and political life of the world. Henceforward it will be

difficult to omit description of another portentous jumping-off place in the fashioning of the economy of the society in which future students will find themselves—that is, the Russian Revolution. Only, in this case, the story will tell of a socio-political upturn which brought in its train significant changes in the administration and conduct of industry. To machine technology, power-driven tools, division of labor, world markets and the other familiar fruitage of the industrial revolution, Soviet Russia in our times counters with the planned economy, collectivized agriculture, the five-day week and many other innovations. This later metamorphosis was perhaps the culminating sequel in a sense to the former change a century or so earlier.

Meanwhile, as participants in the nationalist-capitalist economics which have stalled somewhat (perhaps through excess of health), we eagerly await reports such as this of Professor Hoover so that we may know how to live with this amazing and striving experiment. The great plethora of works recently issuing from the presses on this subject attests the curious and often disquieting interest aroused on the part of Americans. It is safe to say that the present work has little of the failings of the works written by fiery doctrinaires, rosy-spectacled sentimentalists or rabid reactionaries. It is, in short, an admirable student's note-book.

Russia has taken over characteristic capitalist institutions in the new order and refashioned them in function and to some degree in structure. Although, for example, profit is still striven for in the conduct of industry, it usually takes the form of lowered prices and costs of production rather than dividends. Banks have undertaken an intimate, organic control over the conduct and development of industry by directly rationing credit rather than by simply manipulating the discount rate. The attempt is being made to suspend the use of money as a medium of exchange and to use it as a bookkeeping standard of value only, since the obligations of the Soviet economic units—industries, trading organizations, collective farms, social insurance bodies, &c.—are cleared through the banks. Workmen even on occasion dispense with currency for wages. In fact, a notable consequence has been that the psychological obsession of "money-making" and pecuniary standards of values has largely disappeared.

Compared with modern capitalistic lands, the trade union occupies a strikingly diverse position in Soviet Russia. It is no longer the defensive and protective organization for the worker which often necessarily becomes obstructive of the conduct of industry, but has become the most important unit in industrial discipline and acts as the school of apprenticeship for the actual development of plant man-





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agers. A common, plausible objection which has often been raised against a socialistic control of industry has been to the effect that there would result the stultifying vices of bureaucracy, red tape, general sloth and inefficiency. The Russian system has answered these objections by devising remarkably effective safeguards against this in the decentralization and autonomy of the industrial units, the collective agreements between parties and units of production, trade and the cooperatives and the peculiar institution of the periodical cleansing and thoroughgoing check-up on personnel, managers and technicians. Graft and corruption are punished severely.

Repercussion of Communist philosophy upon social institutions has of course followed the new industrialism. The complete equality of the sexes, public feeding, public nurseries, &c., all hasten the desired dissolution of the family—an end which is being achieved more slowly and inevitably, perhaps under capitalism as well. But the elaborate scheme of social insurance which has been set up to provide sickness insurance, maternity and funeral benefits, provision against incapacity, old age and unemployment is restricted to workmen only. The "deprived" and suspect bourgeois classes, especially the great body of the peasantry, do not receive these benefits and may be said "on the average" to have a lower standard of living than before the revolution. It was recognition of the critical importance of the peasantry that led the Communist party to foment the bitter class war in the villages in the attempt to "proletarianize" the peasant. The penetration of the party into the planned economy as the controlling force is complete, while its psychological mastery of the situation and its instinct to retreat make a notable achievement in government. Witness, for example, the popular concentration and tense interest in the Five-Year plan and the dramaturgy of the public trials of those who commit the dread crime of secret sabotage on the plan.

"Never in history have the mind and spirit of man been so robbed of freedom and dignity." In this rather extreme statement Professor Hoover sums up the repugnance which is shared by many toward the bitter repression, violence and regimentation which the individual must undergo while a huge industrialism develops. The strain grows as the figures for the plan are stepped up each year and the enthusiasm of the leaders overcomes them. In the next few years we may see whether the burden and price for the spectacular and swift change will not be too great for the country to bear.

Professor Hoover has handled his material with refreshing objectivity and a judicious candor which appears almost naïve on occa-

sion, but this quality of mind is essential in the consideration of the Russian problem. The accounts of the economic, commercial and financial organization appear often confusing and overlapping, but that is probably due to the fact that the system as a whole is still in a chronic state of reorganization.

## The New Individualism

By SIDNEY HOOK

Department of Philosophy, New York University

*INDIVIDUALISM OLD AND NEW.* By John Dewey. New York: Minton, Balch & Co., 1930. 177 pp. \$2.50.

NOTHING so clearly reveals the vigor and penetration of John Dewey's thought as his refusal to make of philosophy a musty classroom discipline. In his latest book, by bringing the instruments of philosophical analysis to bear upon the contemporary scene, Dewey renews the once vital tradition of philosophy as a critical way of life—personal and social. But *Individualism Old and New* marks more than a return to a tradition represented in different ways by such diversified spirits as Plato, Hegel and Marx. It marks the first significant attempt on the part of an eminent contemporary philosopher to come to grips with our business civilization—its conflicting mechanisms and values, its frustrations and contradictions, its socialized production and anarchic distribution.

Dewey's thesis is a simple one. Modern American capitalism is like a giant whose body has outgrown his mind. Although the individual organs of the body are capable of remarkable effort, the absence of central coordination makes them work at cross-purposes to each other. The result is periodic breakdown and potential threat to the entire physical equilibrium. Intelligent, socialized control of the body politic is the thyroid extract necessary to save the American leviathan from cretinism. American public life is still dominated by the patched and outmoded political philosophy of an earlier age. In the strenuous days of the open frontier, the character of industrial activity was mirrored in the cult of individualism. It was the theoretical expression of what was both a fact and an ideal—the daring, enterprise and indifference to subtle or reflective quality with which the conquest of a continent is inevitably attended. Its slogans intensified the tempo of development. Inner, spiritual isolation which soon soured into empty aggressiveness, and intense practical activity which made a religion of quantity, were complementary phases of the same social process that converted America

from an outpost of civilization into a citadel of corporate wealth.

Professor Dewey traces the effects upon this tradition of the amazing technological revolution which has set in since the beginning of the century. He tracks down its profound influences upon all aspects of our culture, shows that we are living in an economy which is socialized in material fact but not in ethical ideal, and in keen, bold strokes reveals how perversely anachronistic the older slogans of individualism have now become. Because we live in the most complex civilization the world has yet produced and because we think in the simple categories of the pioneer mentality, we can neither appreciate present goods or past values. In order to preserve what is precious in the spirit of the old tradition we must recast the ideal of individuality in harmony with the possibilities of the machine age.

Dewey's solution of our social impasse is both plausible and familiar. Rejecting the utopian philosophies of escape which would check the application of science to industry, Dewey whole-heartedly accepts the conditions of modern technological production as necessary to the creation of a genuinely socialized culture. He characterizes the mystic enthusiasm of those who preach that the individual must reform his own soul before he can reform the world, as a modern variant of the oldest text of social illusion. He urges that social control is the condition necessary for all personal fulfillment which is not won at the price of mass exploitation. As opposed to the disguised fascism of the Babbittarian humanists with their covert appeal to supernatural standards and authorities, Dewey proclaims his faith in a critical humanism which develops its own standards from the controlled experiences of man in his quest for a rich, sensitive and creative life. The crisis in contemporary culture is not an occasion for lamentation but an opportunity for action.

But when we examine the kind of action he urges, we discover that Dewey seems to fall short from what is demanded by his own ideals of socialized culture. Theoretically his book is in line with the fundamental premises of the Marxian philosophy of culture. Practically, however, by underestimating the intensity and irresolvability of class-conflicts in modern capitalist society, Dewey is led to take a position directly antithetical to the political philosophy which seems most compatible with his own premises. In expecting the planned economy of socialized culture to be the result of the collaboration of captains of industry with leaders of labor and public officials, Dewey momentarily forgets what on other occasions he has so trenchantly pointed out—

*Continued on Page XXIV*

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*Continued from Page XXIII*

that our public officials are the mouths that trumpet forth the economic philosophy of our captains of industry and finance and our labor leaders the trusted lieutenants of corporate wealth. The kind of labor leader and public official who could be trusted honestly to represent Professor Dewey's social ideals would be one who squarely repudiated the policy of class-collaboration and compromise, who realized that in the presence of class interests, social change is ultimately a question of power, not of discussion. So long as the conditions of social existence are not the same for all, the hopes, the ideals, yes, the very language in which the human heart expresses its wants, cannot be the same for all. This is the dialectical element in all history. Conflict and suffering are part of the necessary costs of all social change. And the World War should be an instructive lesson to those who believe that the costs come too high. For where there is no social change, the costs come even higher.

## Thomas Masaryk

By LLOYD W. ESHLEMAN

THOMAS MASARYK OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA. By C. J. C. Street. Pp. iv, 281. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1930. \$3.

THERE has been no more pronounced anomaly in the New Europe than the sudden ascendancy of men risen from the proletariat. None of them is so likely to appeal to the American imagination as is President Masaryk. In the course of his fourscore years he has evinced qualities that have distinguished a Bacon, a Milton, a Washington, a Lincoln, a Cavour and a Wilson. Out of a heterogeneous group which includes Bohemians, Slovenes, Germans, Hungarians, Ruthenians and Poles he has evolved the framework of a State and the consecration of an ideal. This he did almost single-handed. One says "almost" because, as in the case of other great men, he received the help of a few and the fortune which now and then some lucky star casts at the feet of genius.

Thomas Masaryk was the son of a Slovakian coachman in the Austro-Hungarian imperial service. Early in life he evinced a fondness for learning and an originality and independence of viewpoint. Through the aid of his mother and the kindly interest of Le Monnier, Chief of Police in Brünn, he entered the grammar school from which he eventually was expelled because, as Mr. Street points out, "he was sharply differentiated from his fellows in refusing to rest content with a pedantic curriculum. \* \* \* To Masaryk it became necessary to understand the forces which move the world and the peoples inhabiting it." Yet

he left Brünn only to improve his situation. Through Le Monnier's influence again he was installed in the Vienna Akademisches Gymnasium. Eventually he graduated from the university. For one who had done field labor, performed janitor duties and served as a blacksmith it was now comparatively easy to "make his own way." He studied as it pleased him, concentrating on languages and philosophy. He became a Protestant, married a fairly well-to-do American girl whom he met in Leipzig, and for a while lived in Vienna. The fact that his publications did not conform always to the scholarly demands of German monograph producers did not lighten his burdens, but after attracting some favorable notice in Vienna he eventually was called to Prague. There he lectured, tutored, edited Czech journals of literary and national scope and became, by and large, the chief spokesman for the resurrection of the Czech and Slovak nations.

Mr. Street sets forth well the part played by Masaryk in the *Athenaeum*, *Cas*, *Nase Doba*, the *Königshof MSS.* and *Hilsner* affairs, the *Slovenski Jug* trials, the organization of the "Realists," the Czech Progressive party, and as an author, professor, philosopher, politician and critic. In these enterprises he was faced by almost insurmountable difficulties. Yet, as Masaryk himself said, "one should never be afraid of finding one's self in the minority. \* \* \* It is minorities which originate progress and any step forward, and it is the lack of progress which is found among the great majority." When the new Austrian franchise reforms went into effect Masaryk took his seat in the Reichsrath in 1907. Thenceforward the events in his career are well known.

## Brief Book Reviews

ROOSEVELT: HIS MIND IN ACTION. By Lewis Einstein. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930. Pp. vii, 259. \$3.

Roosevelt, writes Lewis Einstein, "stands enshrined in the same company as our two greatest Presidents." Yet Mr. Einstein has done little to make this apparent in his study of how Roosevelt thought and acted during the years of a busy, varied and rather turbulent life. "His beginnings were those of a dilettante and his early career was eminently that of an amateur," and somehow the present book, however far from its intention, leaves the impression that dilettantism was always characteristic of Roosevelt. Unlike most studies of the famous Rough Rider, this does not attempt to review the events of his career; instead, the author aims to show how the mind of Roosevelt acted on particular occasions, "to discern the springs of his action and watch him darting through the pages of American history." So the reader will follow Roosevelt from boyhood to the White House and then to unsettled retirement.



The book leaves an uncertain impression as far as Roosevelt's greatness is concerned, but it does make clear the chronic problem of finding a good job for an ex-President.

**THE PATH TO PEACE.** By Nicholas Murray Butler. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930. \$2.50.

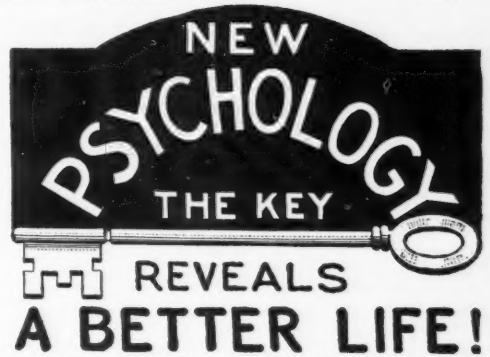
This collection of essays and addresses on peace and its making covers the period from 1924 to 1930, during which President Butler has spoken in many parts of the world. Pleading always for peace, he has defended the League of Nations, the Locarno pact, the Kellogg pact for the renunciation of war. He has urged on mankind cooperation, sympathy and faith in the work which Stresemann, Briand, Kellogg and many others have been trying to accomplish for world peace. "The path to peace," President Butler declares, "lies away from the dark and tangled forest of militarism and of national self-sufficiency and boastful pride." The volume is dedicated to "Aristide Briand, Minister of France; Master-builder of That New World of Nations Whose Cornerstone Is Peace."

**SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1929.** By Arnold J. Toynbee, assisted by V. M. Boulter. New York: Oxford University Press, 1930. Pp. xii, 545. \$7.

This volume is a continuation of the annual reviews of international relations which have appeared regularly since 1920 under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Although, as with all general surveys, individuals may differ on the proper emphasis to place on particular phases of international relations, nevertheless the authors of this work have succeeded so well that their *Survey* has become indispensable to all those whose lives or work touch upon the relations of one State to another. The present volume is built around six features of international affairs in 1929: The London Five-Power Conference on the Limitation of Naval Armaments, the World Economic Conference, the settlement of the reparations question, the international side of tropical Africa, the Far East, the settlement of the conflict between the Papacy and the Kingdom of Italy. In contrast to other volumes, the present one gives considerable attention to economic and cultural relations, for, as is pointed out, "political affairs have lost their monopoly of interest and importance; and economic and cultural affairs have begun to assert themselves. The political associations called States are finding themselves compelled to take an increasing account of economic associations such as 'big businesses' and labor internationals and of religious and linguistic associations such as churches and minorities."

**DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1929.** Edited by John W. Wheeler-Bennett. New York: Oxford University Press, 1930. Pp. xiii, 349. \$5.

This is a convenient collection of the important diplomatic documents of 1929, including all those documents "which illustrate some



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Continued on Page XXVI

Continued from Page XXV

particular phase of international affairs, or which are necessary for the study of some specific aspect of a country's foreign policy." Thus under the general head of naval disarmament appear extracts from speeches by Ambassador Hugh Gibson and Prime Minister MacDonald, together with the text of the invitation to the Five-Power Conference and the texts of other related material. The divisions of the collection range from that concerning the liquidation of the war to the one on Egypt, while within these divisions are documents as diverse as an extract from President Hoover's Armistice Day speech in 1929, and the text of the Turco-Syrian Frontier Agreement of June 29, 1929. On the other hand some important documents have had to be omitted; perhaps the most notable is the Young plan.

## Recent Important Books

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

### BIOGRAPHY

COREY, LEWIS. *The House of Morgan: A Social Biography of the Masters of Money*. New York: G. Howard Watt, 1930. \$5.

The life of the central figure in American financial history during the last generation. Very carefully documented.

POST, LOUIS F. *The Prophet of San Francisco: Personal Memories and Interpretations of Henry George*. New York: Vanguard Press, 1930. \$2.50.

While the book does not pretend to be a biography, it adds not a little to our knowledge of the author of *Progress and Poverty*, probably the most widely read treatise on economics written in America.

### ECONOMICS

GEE, WILSON. *The Place of Agriculture in American Life*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930. \$2.

A small book on a large subject designed "to give the lay reader \* \* \* that sort of a picture which will create a more sympathetic understanding of the plight of the American farmer as a basis for the improvement of his status."

GRAHAM, FRANK D. *Exchange, Prices and Production in Hyperinflation: Germany, 1920-1923*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1930. \$3.50.

A very careful analysis of the facts of inflation, its causes, and its effects in the economic life of Germany.

HABER, WILLIAM. *Industrial Relations in the Building Industry*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930. \$5.

An important contribution, not only to the history of organized labor, but to the history of the development of one of our most important industries.

HAMLIN, SCOVILLE, Edited by. *The Menace of Overproduction*. Foreword by Stuart Chase. New York: Wiley, 1930. \$2.75.

A series of seventeen articles, by recognized

experts in various industries, descriptive of the wastefulness and lack of organization of our present industrial system, in which plant capacity has been developed greatly in excess of market capacity.

ROLL, ERICH. *An Early Experiment in Industrial Organization: Being a History of the Firm of Boulton & Watt, 1775-1805*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1930. \$5.

The steam engines constructed by this firm were largely responsible for the industrial revolution. This story of its business organization is largely drawn from documents hitherto little used.

STEWART, BRYCE M., and others. *Unemployment Benefits in the United States: The Plans and Their Setting*. New York: Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., 1930. \$7.50.

An encyclopedic account of present practices and plans, which must form the groundwork for the discussion of this very vital problem.

STOKDYK, E. A. and WEST, C. H. *The Farm Board*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930. \$2.

A popular presentation of the economic plight of the American farmer, the measures of relief proposed and of the methods of the Farm Board in attempting to administer them.

### HISTORY

BROWN, GEORGE ROCKWELL. *Washington: A Not Too Serious History*. Baltimore: Norman, 1930. \$10.

Anecdotes and odds and ends of information about our capital city, richly illustrated and well printed.

FEILER, ARTHUR. *The Russian Experiment*. Translated by H. J. Stenning. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1930. \$2.

An attempt at an objective evaluation of the Russian experience in building a society on a Communist foundation, showing both the good and the evil in the situation, and making no prediction as to its final success.

GAFFNEY, T. ST. JOHN. *Breaking the Silence: England, Ireland, Wilson and the War*. New York: Liveright, 1930. \$3.50.

The American Consul General at Munich at the beginning of the war, who then and later was accused of undue friendliness to the German cause, now writes an impassioned defense of his acts and gives a good deal of information regarding war diplomacy that has hitherto been largely suppressed.

SOMERVELL, D. C. *The British Empire*. London: Christophers, 1930. 12s. 6d.

A short and interestingly written review of the growth and consolidation of the empire, summarizing, in convenient form, for the general reader, a large amount of information.

### POLITICAL SCIENCE

BENTWICH, NORMAN DE MATTOS. *The Mandates System*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1930. \$5.50.

The Attorney General of Palestine discusses the legal and administrative aspects of the mandate system. Two chapters relate to Palestine, Iraq and Syria, and many documents are reprinted.

BRATT, K. A. *That Next War*. Translated by Ernest Classen. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1931. \$2.50.

A Swedish staff officer analyzes the causes

for war that are now operating, the inevitable destructiveness of a conflict waged from the air, and argues that our only protection against it is a greater degree of international organization.

FORST DE BATTAGLIA, OTTO, Edited by. *Dictatorship on Trial, by Eminent Leaders of Modern Thought*. Translated by Huntley Paterson. London. Harrap, 1930. 18s.

Twenty-two essays, representing opinions the most diverse, on the revolt against democracy in Italy, Spain, Turkey and other European nations.

FRANKFURTER, FELIX. *The Public and Its Government*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930. \$2.

A critical examination of American democratic theory as it is exemplified in our government. Discusses the demands of modern society on government, the embodiment of these demands in the law, the attitude of the law toward public service bodies and toward expert administration.

KIESSELBACH, WILHELM. *Problems of the German-American Claims Commission*. Translated by Edwin H. Zeydel. Washington: Carnegie Endowment, 1930. \$1.50.

A translation of the first part of a temperate and scholarly discussion which was first published in 1927. The decisions of the commission were published by the United States Government.

MADARIAGA, SALVADOR DE. *Americans I*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1931. \$2.50.

A brilliant plea for a larger degree of international cooperation, by the former head of the Disarmament Section of the League.

MILLER, FRANCIS, and HILL, HELEN. *The Giant of the Western World; America and Europe in a North Atlantic Civilization*. New York: Morrow, 1930. \$3.

A penetrating study of national interrelations since the war and of the consequent opportunities and duties of America.

ZINK, HAROLD. *City Bosses in the United States*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1930. \$4.

A study of the careers of twenty bosses who reigned in ten American cities, and of the reasons for their power.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

HUXLEY, JULIAN. *Africa View*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1931. \$5.

A vivid narrative of a journey to East Africa as an agent of the Colonial Office in studying native education, with a discussion of many phases of African life.

SPAULDING, CLARENCE A., Edited by. *Twenty-four Views of Marriage, from the Presbyterian General Assembly's Commission on Marriage, Divorce and Remarriage*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930. \$2.50.

A symposium presenting views of marriage which range from the conservative to the radical.

WELLS, H. G., and others. *The Science of Life*. 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1931. \$10.

Mr. Wells, in association with his son and Julian Huxley, has produced a popular compendium of biology similar to his widely read *Outline of History*, and in a field where he is much more at home.



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# TO AND FROM OUR READERS

[The Editor assumes no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by return postage. Anonymous communications will be disregarded, but the names of correspondents will be withheld from publication upon request.]

**T**HE article by Arthur D. Howden Smith, "Families Conspicuous in American History," in February *CURRENT HISTORY*, contained an error for which the Editor is exceedingly sorry. On page 677 the statement was made that Benjamin Harrison "was given the Republican nomination in 1884 and defeated by Cleveland." James G. Blaine, of course, was the Republican candidate in 1884.

Among those who wrote to the Editor pointing out this error were: Howard A. Lawrence, Hamilton College; Oliver W. Elsbree, University of Pittsburgh; E. G. Moon, attorney, Ottumwa, Iowa; W. G. Peterkin, attorney, Parkersburg, W. Va.; John A. Lusk, attorney, Guntersville, Ala.; Rollo J. Conley, attorney, Fairmont, W. Va.

\* \* \*

## ITALY AND INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM

*To the Editor of Current History:*

The article entitled "Fascist Italy's Suppression of Intellectual Freedom," by C. H. Abad, in January *CURRENT HISTORY*, is a piece of propaganda against the present Italian Fascist Government and regime. It is based on alleged acts by that government subversive of intellectual freedom; most of them consist of silencing or removing university professors because of class lectures attacking the Italian authorities and the existing Italian Fascist Constitution. I entirely disagree with the theory that the Constitution or government of a nation may properly be publicly attacked by college professors, even in peacetime. The writer also complains that an oath of allegiance was exacted from an Italian professor. Why not? The universities are, I suppose, established and supported by the government. Even lawyers in the United States must take an oath to support the Constitution. Besides, this is a time of public danger and unrest in Italy and adjoining lands.

Paris, France.

ALFRED B. CRUIKSHANK.

\* \* \*

## THE FIVE-DAY WEEK

*To the Editor of Current History:*

The November issue of *CURRENT HISTORY* carried an interesting and timely article entitled "The Five-Day Week." In a period when there are 25,000,000 unemployed in the world, the movement for the five-day working week deserves support and consideration. By shortening the working week, but with no decrease in wages, more men would be given work. This, in turn, would increase purchasing power and eventually restore prosperity.

HERBERT W. REINER.

Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

\* \* \*

## CHINESE IN MEXICO

*To the Editor of Current History:*

The article by Professor Charles W. Hackett on "Mexico and Central America," pp. 596-7, in the January number of *CURRENT HISTORY*, calls for protest. For many years mining machinery imported into Mexico was admitted free of duty. I have never heard of any "63 1-3

per cent levy," nor do I believe any such duty has been levied within recent times.

Senator Guillermo Laveaga of Sinaloa may have "alleged that 40 per cent of all the children born in Sinaloa are those of Chinese fathers and Mexican mothers," and may have "maintained that in the States of Sinaloa, Nayarit, Sonora and Lower California more than 500,000 Chinese dominate small business to the detriment of Mexicans." But I am surprised that a magazine of such high standing as *CURRENT HISTORY* should give wider publicity to obvious misstatements. Señor Laveaga's figures are not statistics, but pure exaggerations for his own purpose and propaganda to support the anti-Oriental agitation that he is promoting.

NORMAN T. TRACY.

Mocorito, Sinaloa, Mexico.

\* \* \*

## POWERS OF THE GERMAN PRESIDENT

*To the Editor of Current History:*

Professor Frederic A. Ogg, in his article "Germany and Italy: A Contrast," in November *CURRENT HISTORY*, is mistaken in regard to what he terms the "truly remarkable provisions of Article 48" in the German Constitution.

The President of the republic is not authorized "to dissolve the Reichstag" nor to "carry on the government in a completely arbitrary manner." But under Article 48, the President has the power to force a Federal State to obey the Constitution or a law of the republic. He also may suspend some of the so-called fundamental rights of the German citizen, such as freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and so forth. Further, the President may enact any emergency measures necessary for the public safety. All these powers, however, are subject to the veto of the Reichstag.

At the time of the struggle in the Reichstag last Summer over Dr. Dietrich's tax proposal, the President invoked the power given him by Article 25 of the Constitution, namely, the dissolution of the Reichstag. By this means he escaped a possible Reichstag veto of any acts which he might use under Article 48 of the Constitution.

Hamburg, Germany.

KURT KROYMANN.

\* \* \*

## AMERICAN ARISTOCRACY

*To the Editor of Current History:*

The article, "Families Conspicuous in American History," by Arthur D. Howden Smith, in February *CURRENT HISTORY*, came to my attention just after I had been reading Professor A. M. Schlesinger's suggestive book, *New Viewpoints in American History*, and wondering whether we are really aware how great has been the development in this country of an aristocracy, even if untitled, and what this means in nullifying the democratic system on which we assume American society is based.

In his chapter on aristocracy Professor Schlesinger points out that "aristocracy is something more than a form of governmental organization. It is an outlook on life that infuses its peculiar spirit of exclusiveness and superiority, of self-pride and special privilege, into all phases of human relationship. It is mirrored in the manners and morals of a people, in their religious organization and beliefs, in



their provisions for education, in their language and literature, in their labor system, and in the relations of the sexes to each other, as well as in their system of government and laws."

Every observer of present-day American life must know that in almost all the things that Professor Schlesinger mentions there is a steady increase of the caste spirit, the desire for exclusiveness, the cult of superiority. The outlook for democracy is not hopeful unless the people are content with something more than repetition of mere phrases. If ever the time was ripe for a revival of the spirit of democracy, it is the present; without such revival the day may not be far distant when America will be dominated by ruling families on the European model. That there is a strong tendency to approve of such a development is already obvious when we note the ever-increasing glorification of ancestry among Americans and the self-complacency of those who pride themselves, not on what they are, but on from whom they are descended.

JOHN M. DEAN.

New York City.

#### THE PRODUCTION OF HAPPINESS

To the Editor of *Current History*:

In the excellent article in December *CURRENT HISTORY*, "The Rulers of America," the author makes the statement: "In the big commercial city [are the men] who make the most effective use of labor, capital and management that the world has known." But this "effective use" is in the production of the possibilities of happiness, not in happiness itself. There is needless waste in this system, a waste of capital, labor and management that properly directed would leave an abundance of happiness for every one.

NORMAN W. FROST.

Brownfield, Me.

#### READERS' APPRECIATION.

United States Senator William H. King in a recent letter to the Editor of *CURRENT HISTORY* says: "CURRENT HISTORY always has articles of importance and I have had great pleasure as well as profit in reading the last issue."

Another reader, Miss Mary Winsor, legislative chairman of the Pennsylvania Committee for Total Disarmament, writes: "I value *CURRENT HISTORY* extremely and feel well informed whenever I have read it. It provides a vast fund of up-to-date, well-written information."

E. W. Spaulding, Washington, D. C., writes: "The continued excellence of *CURRENT HISTORY*, both in appearance and content, is cause for congratulation. To my mind the magazine is printing more useful articles than ever before. That *CURRENT HISTORY* is able to maintain its high standard of editorial impartiality is indeed remarkable and deserves commendation."

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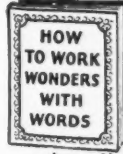
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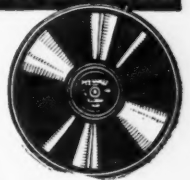
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# WORLD FINANCE

## *A Month's Survey*

By BERNHARD OSTROLENK

*Editorial Board, The Analyst*

THE economic causes for the present world-wide depression which has resulted in such disastrous unemployment have continued to be a subject for discussion and research in all industrial countries. The problem in Great Britain has absorbed the attention of Henry Clay, the economic expert on the staff of the Bank of England, who says that "it is the persistence rather than the severity of the depression which is novel. Underlying the fluctuations that have occurred there has remained persistent mass unemployment, seldom falling below 1,000,000 persons out of an insured population of 12,000,000 even when trade was at its best and other countries were virtually free of serious unemployment. At the present moment, over 2,300,000 of the insured population [of Great Britain] is the recorded unemployment."

Mr. Clay seeks the roots of the problem rather than transitory measures for relief. He has found a comprehensive explanation in the "dislocation of established relations." As an indication of the lack of adjustment, Mr. Clay cited the great existing discrepancies in various price relationships. World prices have fallen 36½ per cent since 1924, while the price level in Great Britain has declined only 11.3 per cent. "Discrepancies like these are evidence both of dislocation and failure to adjust our costs to world price levels." Mr. Clay argues that Great Britain must adjust production to a lower price level or suffer unemployment.

Another British banker, J. F. Darling of the Midland Bank, sees the present crisis as due "very largely to the fact that one-half of the world is unable to buy what the other half has to sell." This Mr. Darling attributes to the unprecedented discrepancy between the relative values of silver and gold. He says: "The cause of the difficulty? The remedy? Obvious. It is to restore the equilibrium through raising the poise of grotesquely undervalued silver by, in effect, backing it with gold."

In the United States Paul M. Warburg also has touched on price levels as the root of the depression. He finds that the introduction of machinery has enabled "a smaller number of men" to produce the same quantity of goods, but production was further inflated, he says,

by "customs barriers erected by nations, old and new, and behind these walls of protection, industries were pushed to hot-house growths, based upon high prices exacted from domestic consumers. Valorization schemes, syndicates, cartels, monopolies, and all kinds of government operations did the rest. Thus instead of permitting increased machine production and cheap credit to lead to lower prices, all efforts were bent to rest our economic structure upon a level of high prices. \* \* \* High prices led to decreased consumption and a rapid increase in productive capacity, agricultural as well as industrial. When the purchasing power of the domestic consumer threatened to become exhausted, it was revived by the stimulant of instalment plans, and buyers abroad, at the end of their tether, were assisted by foreign loans. \* \* \* When the consumer's credit became exhausted, when foreign markets failed to open up, important old markets became impaired; the critical moment came when production overwhelmed manipulation. Prices, overcoming artificial dams, began to seek their own levels." Mr. Warburg sees a permanent decline in prices as the inevitable concomitant of increased efficiency in production. "There is," he adds, "nothing frightening in the thought that the wage dollar or the revenue dollar should give their owners the enjoyment of a greater quantity of things." On the contrary, lower prices, unless the consequence of a violent change, work beneficially for a stabilization of production and a consumption in consonance with the increasing productive ability of an inventive and progressive people. "We should beware of high prices," Mr. Warburg declares.

Many students have seen with special apprehension the developments in the United States with respect to wheat and cotton. The action of the Federal Farm Board in November has resulted in the drying up of all exports. Wheat for March delivery in Chicago was 30 cents above prices in world markets in February. In consequence, exports of wheat virtually stopped. In January exports had shrunk still lower than the November and December quantities, to about 350,000 bushels, as against 8,200,000 last year. To maintain prices in the face of this shrinking export the

Farm Board has found it necessary to continue to buy wheat. The December holdings of 130,000,000 bushels were estimated to have increased to about 150,000,000 by July.

The cotton situation is not greatly dissimilar from the wheat situation. The Farm Board has been buying cotton, both spot and cash, in order to maintain higher prices. Cotton consumption and exports have been sharply curtailed during the year when the crop was of normal size and the carryover from last year was extraordinarily large. In consequence, the carryover of cotton on July 1, 1931, may be estimated at about 9,000,000 bales, to which must be added the 1931 crop.

There seems at present little hope that the farmer's position in the United States will be improved by better prices for either wheat or cotton. All evidence points toward lower prices, and the government will have to continue lavish appropriations to the Farm Board in order to maintain present price levels.

The money rate in New York continued easy during January. From a level of 1½ per cent for ninety-day acceptances, which had prevailed from June 24, 1930, to Dec. 31, 1930, the asked rate of open market dropped on Jan. 2, 1931, to 1¼ per cent, whence there were further successive decreases to a new record low of 1¼ per cent on Jan. 23. On Jan. 29, however, the rate rose to 1½ per cent as a result of the agitation for a soldiers' bonus. On only one occasion, in the last thirty years, in September, 1894, have time money rates been as low as they were during January. The January easing in the short-term money market took place without the assistance of the Federal Reserve Banks.

An unofficial exchange of views between representatives of the British and French Treasuries was initiated in Paris early in January on economic questions of mutual interest. No subsequent information was given out to indicate the trend of the proceedings. Somewhat later in the month the League of Nations Gold Delegation (see pp. 909-910) published a report, submitted to it by the financial division of the League Secretariat, which suggested giving central banks greater power to cooperate with each other and with the Bank for International Settlements. The fundamental need was considered to be a smooth free flow of gold and of goods.

#### FRANCE

The amazing influx of gold into France, amounting, in the last week of January to over \$2,200,000,000, was discussed by Clément Moret, the Governor of the Bank of France, in his annual report to the stockholders. These shipments were not, he stated, entirely the repatriation of French capital. "They represented in part a movement of foreign capital toward the stability and the security offered

by the French franc." Explaining further how France had been obliged by circumstances, in 1930, to call in large quantities of funds placed mainly in London and New York, he stressed the efforts made and the measures still to be taken to make Paris one of the great money markets of the world as well as the necessity of responding to the demands from abroad for long-term credit facilities.

It was announced on Feb. 3, that three loans of 1,000,000,000 francs each were being arranged by French banks in favor of Rumania, Poland and Yugoslavia, satellites of France.

It was further announced on Feb. 5 that the French Government would approve the participation of French capital in the international loan of \$32,000,000 soon to be extended to Germany. The Banque de Paris and the Banque des Pays Bas have both joined the group of banks sponsoring the loan.

#### CHINA

The Chinese silver dollar, normally worth 49.6 cents (U. S.) was quoted in Shanghai on Jan. 16 at only 21.8 cents. This was the lowest rate ever quoted in the history of Chinese currency. The rise of prices with the decline of silver and the decline of imports led to further consideration of the proposed international silver loan to China. (See February CURRENT HISTORY, pp. 796-797.)

Oriental comments on the scheme expressed skepticism. In Japan the risk to be taken was commented upon, with reference to the fact that in spite of an international consortium for loans to China which has existed since 1918, not a cent has been advanced because of lack of security. In Japan it was further stated that a loan of Japanese capital to China in 1917 had never been repaid.

T. V. Soong, Chinese Minister of Finance, expressed the view that the proposed loan of 200,000,000 ounces of silver was not motivated by altruism but by the necessity felt by American silver interests to dispose of their surplus stock. "If China should accept such a loan," he was quoted as saying, "she would, in effect, be paying for losses incurred by American silver interests." Shanghai banks were glutted with silver, holding 280,000,000 silver dollars' worth. American branches of industry and commerce in Shanghai cabled home offices suggesting that the United States should offer to accept war debt payments in silver at a ratio of 2½ to 1, thereby producing a large demand for silver and raising the buying power of silver standard countries. Dr. Wang Chung-hui, China's ablest jurist, pointed out that disturbed conditions made it impossible to apply a silver loan in rehabilitation works in the interior of China and declared that the plan would involve the country in an economic burden equal to the Boxer Indemnity.



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